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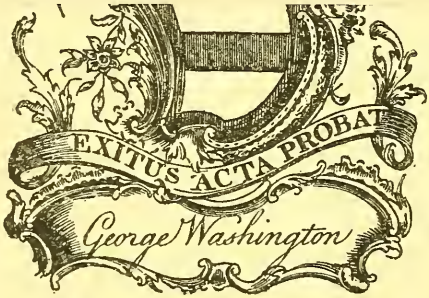

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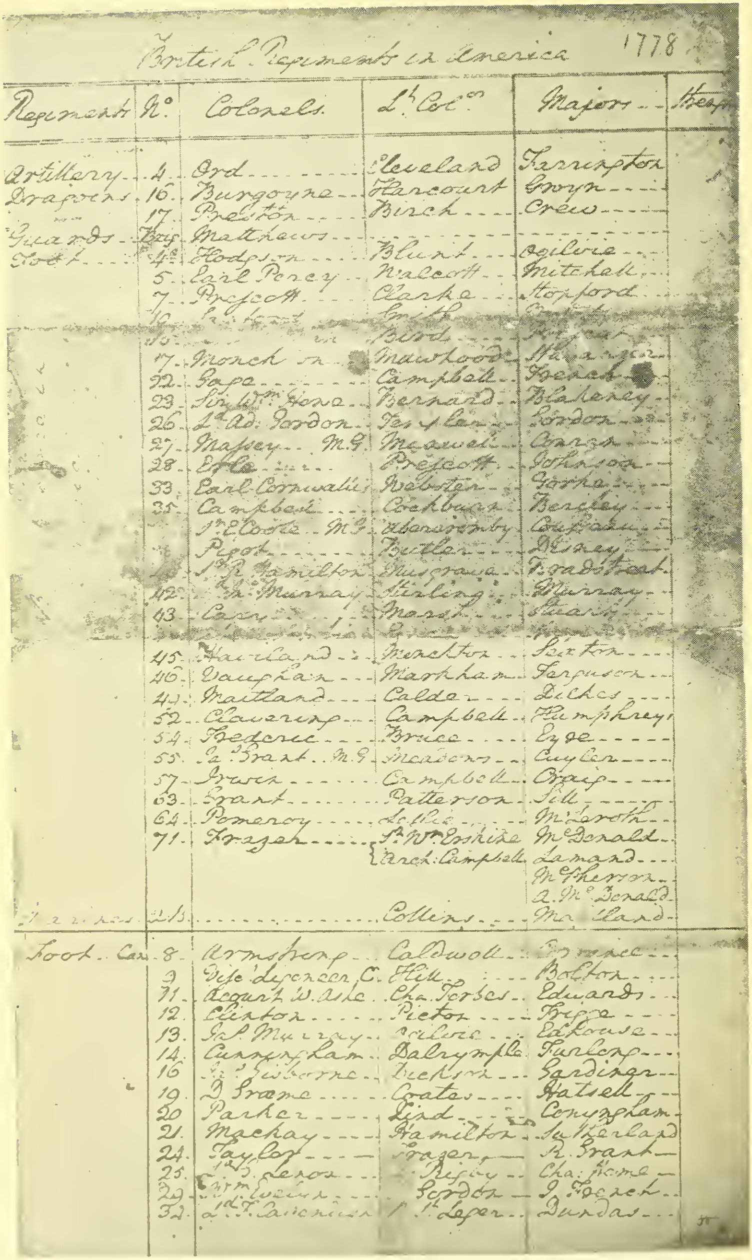
GEORGE WASHINGTON
BICENTENNIAL EDITION

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON



British Regiments in America 1778

Regiments	No.	Colonels	Lt. Cols.	Majors
Artillery	4	Ord	Cleveland	Farrington
Dragoons	16	Burgoyne	Harcourt	Gwyn
	17	Preston	Birch	Crew
Guards	Brig.	Matthews		
Foot	4th	Hodgson	Blunt	Ogilvie
	5	Earl Percy	Walcott	Mitchell
	7	Prescott	Clarke	Stopford
	10	[illegible]	Smith	[illegible]
	15	[illegible]	Bird	[illegible]
	17	Monckton	Mawhood	[illegible]
	22	Gage	Campbell	French
	23	Sir Wm. Howe	Bernard	Blakeney
	26	Ld. Ad. Gordon	Templer	Gordon
	27	Massey M.G.	Maxwell	[illegible]
	28	Earle	Prescott	Johnson
	33	Earl Cornwallis	Webster	Yorke
	35	Campbell	Cockburn	Berkley
		Sr. E. Coote M.G.	Abercromby	[illegible]
		Pigot	Butler	Disney
	[illegible]	Sr. R. Hamilton	Musgrave	Bradstreet
	42	Ld. Jn. Murray	Stirling	Murray
	43	Cary	Marsh	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	45	Haviland	Monckton	Saxton
	46	Vaughan	Markham	Ferguson
	49	Maitland	Calder	Dickes
	52	Clavering	Campbell	Humphreys
	54	Frederic	Bruce	Eyre
	55	Ja. Grant M.G.	Meadows	Cuyler
	57	Irwin	Campbell	Craig
	63	Grant	Patterson	Sill
	64	Pomeroy	Leslie	McGrath
	71	Frazer	Sr. Wm. Erskine / Arch: Campbell	McDonald / Lamond / McPherson / A. McDonald
Marines	2 B.		Collins	McLeland
Foot Can.	8	Armstrong	Caldwell	[illegible]
	9	Visc. Ligonier C.	Hill	Bolton
	11	[illegible]	Cha. Forbes	Edwards
	12	Clinton	Picton	Trigge
	13	Jas. Murray	Ogilvie	[illegible]
	14	Cunningham	Dalrymple	Furlong
	16	[illegible] Gisborne	Dickson	Gardiner
	19	D. Graeme	Coates	Hatsell
	20	Parker	Lind	Conyngham
	21	Mackay	Hamilton	Sutherland
	24	Taylor	Frazer	R. Grant
	25	Ld. G. Lenox	[illegible]	Cha: Home
	29	[illegible]	Gordon	[illegible] French
	32	Ld. F. Cavendish	[illegible] Leger	Dundas

First Page of General Washington's Estimate of the British Regiments in America, 1778

THE WRITINGS OF
George Washington

from the

Original Manuscript Sources

1745-1799

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Clements Library, University of Michigan	[C.L.]
Connecticut Historical Society	[C.H.S.]
Harvard College Library	[HV.L.]
Haverford College	[HD.C.]
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Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati	[R.I.S.C.]
Society of the Cincinnati	[S.C.]
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Virginia State Library	[V.S.L.]

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Colo. Brinckerhoffs,[1] October 1, 1778.

Sir: I do not find that the Enemy are advancing on the West side of the River. From the latest accounts they were at the liberty pole, and at the Newbridge near Hackensack; and from many circumstances and the conjectures of the Officers in their Neighbourhood, it would seem that foraging is the principal object of their expedition. I was very apprehensive that they would possess themselves of some of our Stores, but they have not; and I am in hope, that the only inconvenience we shall suffer in this instance from their coming out, will be a diversion of them from the usual route, and a little more delay in getting them to Camp.

Colo. Butler[2] from Genl. Scot's detachment was fortunate enough to fall in with a party of the Enemy yesterday morning, and to make a Lieutenant and Eighteen privates prisoners, besides killing Ten, without any loss on our part. I am etc.[3]

[N.Y.H.S.]

[1]Col. Dirk (Dirks or Derrick) Brinckerhoff. Baker's *Itinerary of General Washington* gives also a Col. John Brinckerhoff, at whose house in Fishkill Washington is said to have stopped.

[2]Col. Richard Butler, of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment.

[3]In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Fishkills, October 1, 1778.

Dear Sir: I recd. yours of the 29th. at this place, to which I have removed for the convenience of gaining intelligence of the Motions of the Enemy, who are out in considerable force on this side of Kingsbridge, and in Bergen County in Jersey. They seem to be foraging, in which they are busily employed. A few nights ago the party in Jersey made an unlucky stroke at Colo. Baylors Regt. of Horse laying at Harrington about four Miles from Tapan, they were completely surprised in their quarters and upwards of fifty Men killed and taken. The Colonel and Major Clough were both wounded and taken prisoners. The latter is since dead and the former in danger. All accounts from New York yet mention the intended evacuation of that place, but I cannot say they are sufficiently satisfactory to enable me to determine.

Colo. Butler with a part of the light Corps retaliated upon the Enemy in some measure yesterday morning. He surprised about 150 Chasseurs and Yagers, took a Lieutt. and eighteen privates, and left ten dead upon the spot. Not a man upon our part was either killed or wounded.

By the proceedings of the Court Martial upon Capt. Allen,[4] the evidence so materially contradicts his own defence, that I cannot see any objections to confirming the Sentence. You, who are upon the spot, will have a better opportunity of enquiring into all circumstances than I possibly can, I desire you will do what appears to you just and proper. I am &ca.[5]

[4] Capt. Jean Baptiste Allen, of the First Canadian Regiment.
[5] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Fishkill, October 1, 1778.

Dear Sir: The inclosed was sent to you at Boston, and by mistake of General Heaths Aid de Camp, who imagined you were returning directly to the Army, sent it back again.

The Enemy are foraging with strong parties on this side the River, between the plains and the Bridge, and on the other in Bergen. . . .[6] The Enemy keep the main Body at the New Bridge and forage below. Whether this forage is for a winters store in New York, or preparatory to a move else where is yet uncertain, but a variety of accounts from the City mention that an evacuation is to take place this fall. The season advances fast, and if they intend to sea, they must soon prosecute their Voyage.

Colo. Butler with part of the light Corps and Lees Horse retaliated upon the Enemy in some sort yesterday morning. . . .[7] I am &ca.[8]

To CAPTAIN JOHN STITH[9]

Head Quarters, October 1, 1778.

Sir: You are as speedily as possible to collect all the men, Horses and accoutrements remaining of Colo. Baylors Regt. and proceed to Springfield in Jersey, where you will consult with Mr. Caldwell the D. Q. M., upon the most proper place for the accommodation of the men and Horses, so as not to

[6] The paragraph omitted here is the same as that describing the surprise of Baylor's Dragoons in Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. John Sullivan, the same date as this letter, *q. v.*

[7] An omitted sentence; the same as that in Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. John Sullivan, the same date as this letter, *q. v.*

[8] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[9] Of the Third Continental Dragoons.

exhaust the forage that lays convenient for the Travelling Teams, and other purposes. The design of your being ordered on this business, is to recruit the Horse as expeditiously as possible, and it is hoped you will exert yourself to effect so essential an end. The sick you will take care to have placed in the Hospital most convenient to you, and where it may be in your power to visit them. That part of the Regt. now with Genl. Woodford, requiring your attention too, will as soon as they can be spared from the service they are on, be ordered to join you; of this, you will give the Serjt. who commands them notice. As soon as can be you will transmit me a very particular return of the state of the Regt. specifying where the Officers and Men are.[10]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Friday, October 2, 1778.

Parole Northampton. Countersigns Nash, Nelson.

Captain Thomas Buchanan[11] and Ensign Andrew Johnston[12] of the 1st. Pennsylvania Regiment are appointed, the former Pay Master and the latter Quarter Master to the same, from the 2nd. of June last. Likewise Lieutt. Aaron Norcross[13] is appointed Adjutant to the same from Feby. 20th. last.

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[10] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

On October 1 Washington wrote a brief note to Brig. Gen. Charles Scott, acknowledging his account of Colonel Butler's victory: "to whom and all the Officers of his party, be pleased to present my thanks for their behaviour." This letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

Also, according to an unauthenticated copy in the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress, Washington sent general instructions to Brig. Gen. William Smallwood to use his best endeavors to enlist the Maryland draft for three years, or the war. The recruits were to receive the continental bounty of $20, clothing, and land: "You or the officers appointed by you are not to enlist the drafts or soldiers belonging to any but *your own state.*"

[11] He resigned in October, 1779.

[12] Johnston, who had been promoted to lieutenant and wounded at Monmouth, N. J., retired in January, 1781.

[13] He resigned in May, 1779.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Fishkill, October 2, 1778.

Sir: I am favd. with yours of the 29th. Sept. Lord Stirling who is now in Jersey, and has the general command of the troops there, will be a better judge than I am of the necessary and proper disposition to be made. You will therefore implicitly obey him, and either remain where you are at present with your whole Brigade, or detatch such a part of it as His Lordship may direct. He mentions the necessity of two Regs. at least at Aquaquenunk Bridge to encourage and support the Militia. I am, etc.

P. S. direct Maj: Howell to be very vigilant in watching the Motions of the enemy's fleet and expeditious in communicating his intelligence.[14]

To LORD STIRLING

Fishkill, October 2, 1778.

My Lord: I have been favd. with yours of the 30th. Sept. and 1st. instant from Kakeate. You will make such a disposition of the troops as shall seem to you most eligible, for your own security, and for checking the excursions of the enemy.

The inclosed for General Maxwell directs him to obey your orders. You will therefore draw up such part of his Brigade as you shall think proper. He and all the people about Elizabeth town are very anxious for the whole to remain there. But that which is most conducive of the general good must be done. In my opinion all the demonstrations that have been made of landing from Staten Island, have been for the purpose of drawing our attention and force to that Point.

[14] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

I came hear the day before Yesterday for the greater convenience of receiving intelligence from both sides of the River. Whatever information you get of the intentions of the Enemy be pleased to forward immediately. I am etc.[15] [M.L.]

To MAJOR GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Colo. Brinckerhoffs, October 2, 1778.

Dear Sir: I wish you and General McDougal, to whom I have written upon the subject, to send a fatigue party from your Divisions on the Road from Fredericksburg by New Milford, Woodbury and Waterbury to Farmington, for the purpose of repairing it. This will facilitate our movement if we proceed to the Eastward. Genl. McDougal will only furnish for the fatigue from Nixon's Brigade, as I may find it necessary to make a different disposition of the Carolina Troops. The party must be supplied with provision from time to time as they want, as I wish them to continue, till they have gone over the whole tract of road I have mentioned, unless some circumstances cast up to make their rejoining their Corps necessary. I would also wish you to send on the above Rout as far as the Rough road continues your Quarter Master or some Intelligent Officer, to mark the different Stages proper for the halting of Troops, which may march from your Camp. You will be pleased to direct him to be particular in his observations, and to note the distances, with all the accuracy he can.

I am in hopes you are making good progress in the trial of General Schuyler, and that in a day or two you will finish. If we should have occasion to move before it is ended, it will be injurious to the service for the Court to remain and inconvenient both for them and the General to be finding New places where to convene occasionally.

[15] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

The Enemy, from the last accounts were at the liberty pole, and at the New bridge near Hackensac. Foraging seems to have been the principal object of their coming out.

I am credibly informed that a packet has just arrived. If this is the case and Sr. Henry Clinton has been waiting for orders from Ministry to govern his operations, It is probable we shall soon be able to discover the part he means to take. I am etc.

P. S. I am very desirous of the Quarter Master's pointing out the stages where the troops may march from day to day, that I may be able to regulate the advance of the Columns that may move on other Routes.[16]

To MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL

October 2, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have been favoured with your Letter of yesterday morning. I have no particular orders to communicate, except that I wish you and Genl. Lincoln to send from your Divisions a fatigue party. . . .[17] You will not include any of the Carolina Troops in the fatigue men to be sent from your division, as I may find it necessary to make a new disposition of them. With respect to shoes, it is our misfortune to have none in store at this time. I have dispatched an Express to Hartford, with orders to the persons having the superintendence of the Cloathing there and at Springfield, to send on all the Shoes they have with the utmost expedition.

The Enemy who landed in Jersey, from the last accounts, were at the Liberty pole and the New bridge near Hackensac. I am credibly informed that a packet has just arrived. . . .[18]

[16] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[17] The omitted portion duplicates the last half of the first sentence in Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, the same date as this letter, *q. v.*

[18] The omitted portion duplicates the last paragraph in Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, the same date as this letter, *q. v.*

I have not mentioned any particular quantity of provision the fatigue party should take with them. This they must be supplied with from time to time as they may want, as my wish is for them to continue, till they have gone over the Tract of Road I have mentioned, unless some circumstances should cast up to make their rejoining their Corps necessary. I am etc.[19]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE

Head Quarters, Fishkill, October 2, 1778.

Sir: You will send a proper fatigue party from your division, on the road leading from Bulls Iron Works to Litchfield, to be employed in repairing the road, in case it should become necessary to march that way. The party will continue out 'till the purpose be completed; and measures must therefore be taken to supply them with provisions. Other similar parties are ordered on the other roads.

You will send your Quarter Master to precede the party and examine how far the road may need repair; and what good halting places there are at proper stages, which must be reported to me, that I may be enabled to regulate the marches of the different columns accordingly.

We have received advice from the Jerseys that the enemy there have drawn in their out parties and are now within their first position on Hackensack River, about the Liberty pole, newbridge &ca. I have also received an account, that Sir James Wallace[20] had come express to General Clinton, who it seems was himself in the Jerseys, and that a packet was just arrived from England, in consequence of which General Clinton had returned to New York. If this be true, the affairs of the enemy must now soon come to an issue. I am etc.

[19] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[20] Captain in the British Navy.

P. S. In case your division should be ordered to march you will continue with the Court Martial[21] unless otherwise specially directed.[22]

To THE DIRECTOR OF CLOTHING AT HARTFORD AND SPRINGFIELD

Head Quarters, Fishkill, October 2, 1778.

Sir: The situation of the army with respect to blankets, stockings and shoes is so distressing that I am to desire you will forward on those articles from Springfield and Hartford with all possible dispatch; particularly the shoes, for want of which a great part of the men would be incapable of marching any distance, should it become ever so necessary. You will therefore send on the shoes in the first instance and let the blankets and stockings follow them as speedily as they can. The route they are to take is to Fredericks[23] by way of Litchfield.[24] The business demands your utmost activity. I am etc.[22]

To COMTE D'ESTAING

Head Quarters, Fishkill, October 2, 1778.

Sir: Your Excellency's letter dated the 25th instant made me happy by communicating the intelligence of Mr. D'ovilliers victory. I entreat you to accept my repeated congratulations on an event pregnant with such important consequences to the common cause; as well as my warmest thanks for the interesting collection of advices you are so obliging as to make.

The British Admirals both at home and abroad, if we may judge from the present appearance of things will be reduced

[21] For the trial of General Schuyler.
[22] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[23] Fredericksburg, N. Y.
[24] In Connecticut.

to play a very cautious game. The judicious disposition, Your Excellency has made will be a great discouragement to any enterprise your way, and every days approach of Winter lessens the probability. Our intelligence respecting Admiral Howe's departure is the same, except the name of the Ship. My advices announce the Eagle instead of the Maidstone.[25] Your Excellency's inference from this circumstance carries weight with it. My Idea still is that the British General is waiting positive instructions from his Court to determine his conduct; and that his preparations are adapted to either contingency of remaining or going away, as his orders shall prescribe.

Your observation on the inability of England to spare a sufficiency of Ships, men and money to continue hostilities in America at the same time that she is engaged in a war with the United powers of France and Spain, appears to me conclusive; but you are best acquainted with the present State of European Politics, and the actual forces and dispositions of these two Kingdoms, and can best decide whether the necessity for Englands withdrawing her Troops be urgent and immediate, or whether this event may not be procrastinated with a view to facilitate Negotiations which may be intended in the course of the Winter. The concurring Sentiment of the citizens of New York is that an evacuation will take place, and repeated intelligence indicates a part of the enemy's force destined for the W. Indies. The preparing a number of Uniforms for a warm climate, was a circumstance the importance of which did not escape me; but I have not been able to obtain so full a confirmation of the fact as I could wish. The weak state of the British Garrisons in the Islands seems to make a considerable

[25] The ship on which Richard, Lord Howe was reported to have sailed for England on September 16. D'Estaing interpreted Lord Howe's departure in a single frigate as inconsistent with the withdrawal of the British forces from America. He concluded that some sort of an expedition would be undertaken and begged to be kept informed of Washington's opinion as well as of events.

reinforcement necessary on defensive principles, upon an open rupture with France, whose strength and magazines in that quarter are so respectable. And if all idea of future operations in this country be renounced, as is supposed, a part of the British force here will probably be disposed of in this way. But in this also a source of embarrassment occurs. If the enemy are not certain of a naval Superiority in those latitudes, they cannot risk sending a detachment of their troops hence, without materially dividing their fleet to afford a convoy sufficient for its protection, a step they will not be fond of taking while there is so formidable a Squadron under Your Excellency's command, to controul their motions. Whether besides merely strengthening their own Garrisons, they may mean to employ their arm in any attempt upon your colonies, or whether all above what may be required for the first purpose will be recalled for the defence of Great Britain or other parts of her dominions, must in my opinion depend on the preponderance of naval power, and the farther demonstrations made by the great Broglie.[26]

The enemy some days since made an incursion into the Jerseys, and foraged in security on a neck of land, where both flanks were guarded by navigable Rivers; and a small front only remained to be covered by a little field fortification. This inconvenience we cheerfully suffered for the advantage of being in a posture to co-operate with you at Boston. A considerable reinforcement however, gave room to suspect some further design and obliged me to make additional provision for the safety of the communication over the North River, by moving another division of troops that way.

[26] Charles François, Counte de Broglie. He had been head of the French secret diplomacy under Louis XV, but was unable to obtain any position of power under Louis XVI and the Maurepas-Vergennes ministry. Having suffered heavy financial reverses, he conceived, as a scheme to recoup both his political and financial fortune, the idea of making himself head of the American Revolution. He died in 1781.

I have myself changed quarters to this place, for a time to be nearer the posts which guard it. This object, from which I dare not withdraw my force or attention, while the enemy are so powerful at New York, and the casualties to which we are exposed, while they have the advantage of transporting their troops by water, make it impossible for me to diminish my numbers by a detachment to Boston; a circumstance which I infinitely regret as it seems to be in Your Excellency's wish.

The defence which may be drawn from the natural advantages of situation, improved by works and the numerous militia, that may be suddenly assembled, will I hope give security to the Town and to Your Excellencys Squadron against a land operation and aided by the troops under General Sullivan, which on an emergency would be employed for the same purpose, allow time for the arrival of this Army. The troops you ask for at Boston, will no doubt readily be granted, and inspired by Mr. de Bougainvilles[27] in conjunction with those he already has, maintain the important isthmus.

A continuance of the Marquis de la fayette's painful separation from Your Excellency, is unluckily involved in the impossibility above mentioned. His Cartel to Ld. Carlisle has not been communicated to me by him; it is a fresh instance of his sensibility for the honor of his Nation.[28]

The Town of Boston enjoys a privilege of which every town on the Continent must be ambitious, and the individuals

[27] Louis Antoine, Comte de Bougainville. He was captain in the French Navy; commander of the *Languedoc;* with the fleet of De Grasse; played an important part in the action off the Virginia Capes Sept. 5, 1781.

[28] The language to which Lafayette took exception is in the Declaration of the British Peace Commissioners to the Continental Congress, Aug. 26, 1778, where France is characterized as "a Power that has ever shewn itself an Enemy to all Civil and Religious Liberty" and accused of misrepresentation; of deliberately prolonging the war; of making the Colonies "the instruments of Her Ambition"; and of misdating treaties. As Earl Carlisle's name headed the signers of this declaration, Lafayette challenged him to a duel, which was declined on the ground of the earl's embassy as peace commissioner.

charged with conveying the testimonies of its respect, must feel a pleasure which is envied them by, Your Excellency's, &c.

P. S. Since closing my Letter, I have received a fresh piece of information; which from the Channel through which it comes, deserves attention, though it is not absolutely to be relied on. That a fleet of Transports, was taking in Stock for a Voyage, on board of which ten Regiments said to be bound for the W. Indies were to embark, convoyed by Commodore Hotham with three Sail of the Line and some frigates. This moment advice is brought me of the arrival of a packet boat from England, which will in all likelihood bring the affairs of the enemy to an issue.[29]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Fishkill, October 2, 1778.

Dear Sir: Capt. Machin[30] has been employed since the year 1776 in the engineering Branch without coming to any regular settlement for his Services. He does not chuse to fix any price himself, and I am really ignorant of what is just and proper. You have been a witness of a good deal of his work and he is willing to submit the matter to your decision. Capt. Machin holds a Commission in the Artillery, and has besides an account of his extra Expences in transacting his Business. The sum therefore to be ascertained is what he is intitled to above his pay of an Officer of Artillery, and an allowance for extra Expences.[31] I am &c.[32]

[29] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton and John Laurens.

[30] Capt.-Lieut. Thomas Machin, of the Second Continental Artillery. He had been wounded at Fort Montgomery, N. Y., in October, 1777; promoted to captain in August, 1780; served to June, 1783; later served as captain, Twenty-ninth United States Infantry.

[31] Clinton replied (October 3) that Machin's services in fixing the chain across the Hudson and sinking the cheveaux de frises had been of great value; that he "frequently endangered his Health by working in the Water when it was floating with Ice." Clinton's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[32] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Fish Kills, October 3, 1778.

Sir: I am honored with your favour of the 27 of September, with the inclosed resolves of Congress; a copy of which has been transmitted to Major General Lincoln, for his information and direction. Being separated from my papers, I am uncertain, whether I mentioned in my last, that the enemy in the Jerseys having received a reinforcement and made some forward movements, I had thought it expedient to detach another brigade thither to act in conjunction with the one already there, together with Pulaski's corps and the militia, and had sent Major General Lord Stirling to take the command of the whole. That I had also ordered Major General Putnam [with two brigades] across the River for the immediate security of West Point and moved a division of troops to this place, to be near that post. I have also come here myself and propose to remain 'till the views of the enemy in the Jersey's are decided; though I have had no reason to alter my opinion, that nothing more than a forage is intended. By the last accounts, they had drawn in their out parties and resumed their first bounds behind Hackensack River at the Liberty-pole and New Bridge.

That part of Baylors regiment, which escaped, came off in the first instance, and were afterwards brought off in so dispersed a manner, that the number has not been ascertained; but from what I have learned, I should estimate the loss at about fifty men and seventy [or eighty] horses. Major Clough is dead of his wounds. This affair appears to have been attended with every circumstance of cruelty.

It is a small compensation for this accident, that Col: Butler, three or four days ago, with a party of infantry and horse, comprehending Major Lee's corps, surprised about an hundred

Yagers below Tarrytown; killed ten on the spot and took a Lieutenant and eighteen Men prisoners. The roughness of the country facilitated the flight of the rest and prevented the success being more complete.

The proceedings in the case of General St. Clair accompany this letter. I have the honor etc.

P. S. I have received advice of the arrival of a Packet from England.[33]

*To HENRY LAURENS

Fishkill, October 3, 1778.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 23d. Ulto. came to my hands at Fredericksburg the Evening before I left it for this place. I thank you for the transmission of Mr. Beresford's intelligence, tho I have not the smallest Idea that any thing more than a deception, is meant by it; and that Mr. Williams is either a voluntary Agent, or the innocent instrument, for carrying it on. Yet, as the case may be otherwise, common prudence bids us guard against the worst. A conclusive evidence against the measure, with me, is, his speaking of the Troops destined for the Southward in the light of a detachment only. I am well convinced myself, that the Enemy, long ere this, are perfectly well satisfied that the possession of our Towns, while we have an Army in the field, will avail them little. It involves *us* in difficulty, but does not, by any means, insure *them* conquest. They will know, that it is our Arms, not defenceless Towns, they have to Subdue, before they can arrive at the haven of their Wishes, and that, till this end is accomplished, the Superstructure they have been endeavouring to raise, "like the baseless fabric of a vision"[34] falls to nothing. But this, tho a reason

[33] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The words in brackets are in the draft, which is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade, but were omitted from the letter sent.

[34] The Tempest (Shakespeare), act iv, scene 1.

operating powerfully with me, in deciding upon the point, is by no means the most weighty consideration in my Mind. A Measure of this kind before the hostile disposition of France became so evident, and before the French Fleet arrived on this Coast, was probable, as their whole conduct was full of unaccountables; but to attempt now, to detach 10,000 Men (which is, I suppose half their Army) and to divide their Naval strength for the Protection of it, would, in my judgment, be an Act of insanity, and expose one part or the other, of both Land and Sea force to inevitable ruin. I, therefore conclude, that they will go there wholly or not at all. Nevertheless, I may be mistaken.

As you have not acknowledged the receipt of my Letter by Majr. (now Lt. Colo. Morris) by whom I took the liberty of returning the first paper parcel of gold you were so obligg. as to send me; nor of a Subsequent Letter by Colo. Hazen, inclosing the Letters of Govr. Johnstone, Mr. Manning &ca. I am somewhat fearful that they may have been mislaid, and forgot as these Gentlemen were charged with other business of more consequence. With every Sentiment of esteem, regard and Affec.; I am etc.[35]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Fishkill, October 3, 1778.

Sir: General Mcdougall forwarded Major Gray's[36] letter to you, to me. I have no account from General Scott of any troops having lately gone from New York to the Narrows. The party that went to Jersey were reinforced, and perhaps that might have occasioned the mistake.

[35] This was a private letter to Laurens, rather than in his official capacity as President of Congress. The letter sent, which was also in the writing of Washington, is missing from the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. It was sold at auction in 1933, and from the catalogue description it varies in minor verbal particulars from the draft.

[36] Maj. Ebenezer Gray's letter of Sept. 30, 1778.

I do not apprehend any attempt agt. this Army, but to be prepared for contingencies, I am to desire, if the Enemy should make a debarkation in force which may seriously threathen your left Flank, you will fall back to Fredericksburg, at which place we can concentre our force.

I have just seen a Philada. paper of the 29th. Septr. which mentions that a Vessel had arrived at Baltimore in 13 days from Martinico, and brings an account that the French had taken possession of Dominica and had sent down 4000 Men agt. Jamaica. If this is so, we shall soon have a confirmation of it. I am &ca.

P. S. Some troops went from New York to Staten Island abt. the time Majr. Gray mentions.[37] [N.Y.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Colo. Brinckerhoff's, October 3, 1778.

Dear Sir: You will perceive by the inclosed Copy of a Resolution which came to hand last night, that Congress have determined on measures for securing Charles Town, in case the Enemy should form an expedition against it, and have appointed you to command there.[38] I have nothing to add upon the subject, except my assurance that you will have, as you have had upon all occasions, my warmest wishes for your success and happiness. You will receive your Instructions from Congress when you have an Opportunity of seeing them. I am, etc.

P. S. I received your favor of yesterday, after I had written you about a fatigue party.[39]

[37] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[38] The resolve of September 25 directed that Lincoln take command in the Southern Department "and repair immediately to Charleston, S. C."

[39] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. (See Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, Oct. 2, 1778, *ante*.)

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT

Head Quarters, October 3, 1778.

Sir: I have received your letter of yesterdays date, and am glad that Capt. Leavensworth has found means to elude the enemy's posts. I wish him to use his utmost endeavours to ascertain the truth of the following intelligence transmitted me by Majr. Gray from Norwalk. "From the 19th. or 20th. Ulto. to the 24th. (when his informant left New York) Troops were constantly embarking from the City to the Narrows, to the amount as was judged of two or three thousand. Twenty eight Sail were loading Wood for Newport, at Huntington,[40] and Twenty Sail for New York, in Cold Spring Harbour. Governor Tryon was employed in Swearing the Inhabitants at Huntington. Admiral Gambier had taken the Command."

Your treatment of the wounded Lieutenant cannot but have my approbation, such conduct is invariably to be observed to an enemy in his unfortunate circumstances.[41] We have no authority to punish the persons taken in the fact of illicit commerce, any farther than by seizing their merchandize, and delivering their persons to the civil magistrate; if there are any circumstances which incline you to dispense with the latter, it may be well at least to take the names of the offenders, and threaten them in case of a relapse with the full rigour of the Law.

The Horses taken from disaffected persons, and which by their situation were liable to fall into the enemys hands, should be sent to the Quarter Master Genl: who will take an account of them and their value. I am &ca.[42]

[40] Huntington, Long Island.

[41] "The Lieutenant that was taken the other Day by Colo. Butlers party being Badly Wounded and nobody with me able to Speak with him. I took his Parole and Sent him into the enemy's Camp."—*Scott to Washington,* Oct. 2, 1778. Scott's letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[42] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JACOB BAYLEY

Head Quarters, Fishkill, October 3, 1778.

Sir: Capt. Young[43] has just delivered me your favour of the 21st. of September. I wrote you a few days since, to the care of Colo. Hazen, informing you, that a satisfactory answer had been received from Congress relative to carrying on the expedition, if circumstances will permit; and making the necessary preparations for that purpose, and that Mr. Cuyler[44] had agreed with the Commissary of Purchases here, on the proposed arrangements in their department. Captn. Young will communicate what particulars he learnt from Mr. Tychiner,[45] Assistant to Mr. Cuyler. You will therefore proceed in the matters intrusted to your direction.

Since my last, General Schuyler has undertaken to provide a number of Snow shoes and mocassins at Albany; but allowance has been made for this and you are nevertheless to procure the quantity of these articles mentioned in my last. Yet as the actually collecting them, would naturally lead the enemy to suspect our design, I would wish this part of the business to be deferred as long as it can, so as to be completed in season. In the mean time you may be laying out for them and taking such steps as will be least obvious and declarative of the intention. I thank you for the information you have sent me and am, etc.[46]

*To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

Fish-kill, October 4, 1778.

My dear Marquis: I have had the pleasure of receiving, by the hands of Monsr. de la Colombe, your favour of the 28th.

[43] Capt. Samuel(?) Young, of Bedel's New Hampshire Militia regiment.
[44] Jacob Cuyler, deputy commissary of purchases, Northern Department.
[45] Isaac Tichnor, deputy commissary of purchases, at Coos, N. H.
[46] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

Ulto.; accompanied by one of the 24th., which he overtook somewhere on the Road. The leave requested in the former,[47] I am as much interested to grant, as to refuse my approbation of the Cartel, proposed in the latter.

The generous Spirit of Chivalry, exploded by the rest of the World, finds a refuge, My dear friend, in the sensibility of your Nation *only*. But it is in vain to cherish it, unless you can find Antagonists to support it; and however well adapted it might have been to the times in which it existed, in our days it is to be feared that your opponent, sheltering himself behind Modern opinion, and under his present public Character of Commissioner, would turn a virtue of such ancient date, into ridicule. Besides, supposing his Lordship accepted your terms, experience has proved, that chance is as often, as much concerned in deciding these matters as bravery, and always more than the justice of the Cause; I would not therefore have your life, by the remotest possibility, exposed, when it may be reserved for so many greater occasions. His Excellency the Admiral I flatter myself, will be in Sentimt. with me; and, as soon as he can spare you, send you to head Quarters, where I anticipate the pleasure of seeing you.

Having wrote very fully to you a few days ago, and put the Letter under cover to Genl. Sullivan, I have naught to add at this time, but to assure you, that with the most perfect regard, I am etc.

[47] Neither of these letters, of September 24 and September 28, are now found in the *Washington Papers;* they are, however, printed in Sparks's *Letters to Washington,* vol. 2, pp. 209 and 213. The September 24 letter asked for "candid advice" on the subject of taking notice of the disrespectful references to France in the address of the British Peace Commissioners to Congress. "I am the first French officer in rank of the American Army; I am not unknown to the British and if somebody must take notice of such expressions that advantage does, I believe, belong to me." In the letter of September 28 Lafayette requested leave to come to headquarters for an interview with Washington: "the letters I have received from home make me very anxious to see you."

*To GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

Fish-kill, October 4, 1778.

Dear Sir: My public Letters to the President of Congress will inform you of the Wind that wafted me to this place; nothing more therefore need be said on that head.

Your Letter of the 8th. Ulto. contains three questions and answers, to wit: Can the Enemy prosecute the War? Do they mean to stay on the Continent? And is it our interest to put impediments in the way of their departure? To the first you answer in the Negative; to the second you are decided in opinion that they do not; And to the third, say, clearly No.

Much, my good Sir, may be said in favor of these answers; and *some* things against the two first of them. By way therefore of dissertation on the first, I will also beg leave to put a question, and give it an answer. Can *we* carry on the War much longer? certainly *NO*, unless some measures can be devised, and speedily executed, to restore the credit of our Currency, restrain extortion, and punish forestallers.[48]

Without these can be effected, what funds can stand the present expences of the Army? And what Officer can bear the weight of prices, that every necessary Article is now got to? A Rat, in the shape of a Horse, is not to be bought at this time for less than £200; a Saddle under thirty or Forty; Boots twenty, and Shoes and other articles in like proportion. How is it possible therefore for Officers to stand this, without an increase of pay? And how is it possible to advance their Pay when Flour is selling (at different places) from five to fifteen pounds pr. Ct., Hay from ten to thirty pounds pr. Tunn, and Beef and other essentials, in this proportion.

[48] Forestallers were those who purchased merchandise or supplies before they came on the market and then advanced the prices. Under old English law this was a punishable offense.

The true point of light then to place, and consider this matter in, is not simply whether G. Britain can carry on the War, but whose Finances (theirs or ours) is most likely to fail: which leads me to doubt *very much* the infalibility of the answer given to your Second question, respecting the Enemy's leaving the Continent; for I believe, that they will not do it, while ever *hope* and the chapter of *accidents* can give them a *chance* of bringing us to terms short of *Independance.* But this *you* perhaps will say, they are now bereft of. *I* shall acknowledge that many things favor the idea; but add, that upon a comparative view of circumstances there is abundant matter to puzzle and confound the judgment. To your third answer, I subscribe with hand and heart. the opening is now fair, and God grant they may embrace the oppertunity of bidding an eternal adieu to our, once quit of them, happy Land. If the Spaniards would but join their Fleets to those of France, and commence hostilities, my doubts would all subside. Without it, I fear the British Navy has it too much in its power to counteract the Schemes of France.

The high prices of every necessary. The little, indeed no benefit, which Officers have derived from the intended bounty of Congress in the article of Cloathing, The change in the establishment, by which so many of them are discontinued. The unfortunate delay of this business, which kept them too long in suspence, and set a number of evil spirits to work. The unsettled Rank, and contradictory modes of adjusting it, with other causes which might be enumerated, have conspired to sour the temper of the Army exceedingly; and has, I am told, been productive of a Memorial, or representation of some kind, to Congress,[49] which neither directly, nor indirectly did I know,

[49] This memorial from the field officers and captains of the Continental Army is dated Sept. 13, 1778, and was forwarded to Congress in a letter of September 22, signed by Cols. Daniel Morgan, Otho Holland Williams, and William Davies. The

or ever hear was in agitation, till some days after it was dispatched; owing, as I apprehend, to the secrecy with which it was conducted to keep it from my knowledge, as I had in a similar instance last Spring, discountenanced and stifled a child of the same illigitimacy in its birth. If you have any News worth communicating, do not put it under a bushel, but transmit it to Dr. Sir,[50] Yrs. sincerely.

*To COLONEL JOHN COX OR JOHN MITCHELL[51]

Fish-kill, October 4, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am informed that Sundry Goods (in the Military line) addressed to Mr. Jas. Rivington of New York, were taken, carried into Egg harbour, and are now in Philadelphia. Among them a compleat sett of Camp equipage. As I am *perfectly incompleat* in this way, I should be glad if you would enquire into the truth of this matter, and make a purchase of it for me, if it answers the description; and can be had upon terms not unreasonable.

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grievance was the exclusion of supernumerary officers from the Army through rearrangement, lack of half-pay and pensions, medical care, clothing, and other deficiencies. On October 20 Congress ordered it to lie on the table "until Congress have fully considered and determined on the report of the committee of arrangement." The original papers are in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 41, 7, fols. 191–204.

[50] Morris answered this letter from Washington (October 26): "the Petition you mention or Representation which I have not yet seen and never wish to see . . . it gave my Enemies (and who were so in some Degree for my earnest Support of the Claims of the Army heretofore) no small Cause of Triumph. . . . It was by Procedures such as these that the good Fairfax made way for a crafty Cromwell and that he dismissed a tedious Wrangling Parliament and established a military Despotism. It is a melancholy Truth that when once Faction takes Possession of the human Heart Men are hurried into Extremes which make considerate People tremble. I will not do your Army the Injustice even to permit a Thought that they wish to get Rid of their General. But Sir their and your and our Enemies do not want the Confidence to say so and indeed to say they can prove it and to attempt that Proof from the Manner of procuring (Agitating as they term it) the Petition in Question. Certainly could such Ideas be inculcated it would answer their Views. It would also answer their Views to instill into the Army a Distrust of Congress and therefore I doubt not but the Enemies of both are assiduous in this Business." Morris's letter is in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[51] Cox was an assistant deputy quartermaster general and Mitchell a deputy quartermaster general.

I am also informed that there are proper Camp Trunks, with Straps &ca.; two of which, equal in size, I should be glad to get; and a Cut and thrust Sword, genteel, but not costly, with Chain and swivels, strong.

These things are to be had, I am told, in Market Street, but of whom, I have not been able to learn. Genl. Wilkenson, if in Phila., can tell. I am, etc.

P. S. If there are any of Dolands best pocket Telescopes, be so good as to get one of these also, and send it to me as soon as you can.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, October 4, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am to thank you for your favor of the 28th. Ulto. and its several inclosures. The intelligence given you by Mr. Colvill[52] is very interesting if it can be depended on, and particularly to Count d'Estaing, to whom no doubt you have communicated it. Your distribution of the twelve hundred Militia men ordered out by the Council of State, exactly coincides with my wishes. Their labour if it has not its immediate use, will remain a permanent security to the town, and as you observe give confidence and tranquillity to our allies.

Every intelligence of the progress of Clothing, is very acceptable to me, as it diminishes my anxiety, and opens the prospect of a happy completion of our wishes, in this important article; the stopping a sufficient quantity for the invalids was perfectly right.

The Enemy in the Jersey continue nearly in the same position as when I last had the pleasure of writing to you and will probably retire as soon as they have secured their Plunder. A packet is arrived at New York, which will probably determine General Clintons Plans. I am, etc.[53] [MS. H. S.]

[52] William Colvill, formerly ensign in the Royal Scotch Emigrants.
[53] In the writing of John Laurens.

To LORD STIRLING

Head Quarters, October 4, 1778.

My Lord: It is now three days since I have received any intelligence from your Lordship; this makes me the more uneasy as my movements depend altogether upon the indications you give me of those of the enemy. It is of so much importance to me to be regularly informed that I must request you will send expresses daily, acquainting me precisely with the enemy's position, and communicating such intelligence as you may collect from spies, deserters &ca. It is often a satisfaction to know that nothing new has happened, altho' it may not appear very interesting, to make a report of; it will be always in your Lordships power to compensate the dearth of events by favoring me with your conjectures. I am etc.

P. S. I open this letter to acknowlege the receipt of your Lordship's favour of Yesterday. I have also received two New York papers, transmitted me by Mr. Livingston[54] at your desire. I have nothing to add, but my thanks for the intelligence you communicate. Major Washington with Moylan's Regt. is on his way to join your Lordship.[55]

To OTIS & ANDREWS

Head Quarters, Fishkill, October 4, 1778.

Gentlemen: By a letter from the Board of War, which will be delivered you herewith, you will perceive they have left it to my determination, whether the Continental troops under General Sullivan should be supplied with coats, Jackets and breeches from the imported ready made cloathing, ordered on to Springfield and Hartford, or from the materials in

[54] Gov. William Livingston.

[55] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens. The P. S. is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The last sentence was added to the letter sent, but not noted on the draft.

possession of Mr. Reynolds[56] and yourselves. I have decided in favour of the last mode and written to Genl. Sullivan accordingly. It seems Mr. Reynolds has been already making provision for the purpose; but you are to supply any deficiency in the quantity he has, out of the stocks in your hands. I have *recommended* to General Sullivan to have the materials drawn from you and made up in the state of Rhode Island, where I imagine a Number of Taylors may be found to dispatch the business in a little time; and this will leave you at leisure to go on with your provisions for the army at large. You will hear from him on this point. With respect to other matters, you will follow precisely the directions of the Board.

I make no doubt you will scrutinize carefully the quality of the articles you purchase, or send on for the use of the army. I am induced to call your attention particularly to the article of shoes, as there is now a parcel in the store at this place, intirely unfit to be issued to the men; because they are so slight, the service they could render would be momentary. This is too much the case with the French shoes in general, of which kind this parcel is, and unless much circumspection be used the purchasing them can answer no other end, than to run the public to an unprofitable expence and deceive the expectations of the army. I am etc.[57]

To THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE AND THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES OF MARYLAND

Head Quarters, October 5, 1778.

Gentlemen: Among the various disputes upon the subject of Rank in the Army, there have not been found any more difficult to settle than the claims of this nature in the Maryland line.

[56] John Reynolds (Reynold), agent for clothing in Rhode Island.
[57] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

These have been matter of employment for a Board of General Officers for several days, and, after all their care and assiduity, I fear no arrangement that they can make, will prove intirely satisfactory. There is one point, about which the Board and myself have doubts, Viz. the construction and extent of the powers with which the Assembly were pleased to honor me, by their Resolution of the 11 of April 1778, transmitted in a Letter of the 18th of the same month. Neither they nor I know with the precision we could wish, whether the Resolution meant to confer powers for changing the appointment of any Officer made by the Assembly, by adding or taking away a grade, where it might appear right; or whether it only intended to authorise an alteration in the instance of precedence among those of similar rank, where it should be found, that mistakes had taken place in that respect. Satisfaction in these points may effect the decision of the Board, and make a material difference in the arrangement. I shall be happy to receive such Answer, as you may think proper to honor me with, by the earliest opportunity, as nothing will contribute more to the service, than a speedy and final conclusion of the disputes upon this head. I made some attempts in the course of last year to have them adjusted, but without effect. I have the Honor etc.[58]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Fishkill, October 5, 1778.

Sir: I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's favor of the 21st. Sepr. this morning. By what means it has been so long delayed, I cannot conceive.

The conduct of Crowel[59] appears to me to have forfeited the protection he derived from the flag and to justify in point of right the detention of his person and the confiscation of the

[58] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[59] Crowel, whose Christian name was not given, was a New Jerseyman, who had turned loyalist. He attempted to carry a load of flour back to New York City.

Vessel and her effects. The obligation of a flag is reciprocal. On the one hand it ought to be inviolable, when conducted agreeable to the rules of War and honor, and on the other any fraud or deceit committed under its sanction is doubly criminal, and the Laws and practice of nations will authorize inflicting a Punishment proportioned to the crime. How far it may be proper to make use of the right in particular cases is a question of policy and must be determined by circumstances.

I shall relate to your Excellency an affair that happened last Campaign, which bears a remote analogy to the present. a passport was obtain'd from Genl. Howe to send a flag Boat laden with Provisions, for the use of our prisoners in Philadelphia. Robinson[60] was announced as the intended master and the passport given in his name. He went with the Boat accordingly, and Capt. Galt[61] accompanied him in the capacity of a Seaman. Both these Gentlemen belonging to the navy at the time, though not in actual employ, General Howe had them seized and thrown into close confinement, for appearing in an assumed and disguised character. The fairness of this proceeding with respect to Robinson could not well be vindicated; but with respect to Galt was justifiable. My interposition in their favor could with difficulty prevent their meeting with a still severer punishment. The vessel however and her cargo were unmolested.

There is indeed a wide difference between the two cases; in one, the crime, supposed or real, consisted only in a slight ambiguity of conduct in the commander of the Boat, and a little personal concealment in another individual, under his command; in the other it extended to a felonious commerce in which the Vessel itself was made immediately instrumental. In this, there was Villainy, in that there was only indiscretion.

[60] Capt. Isaiah Robinson.
[61] Capt. Nathaniel Galt.

I should think at all events, Crowel should be imprisoned for a time and the articles he attempted to smuggle, converted to the benefit of the Captors. It will be a necessary piece of ceremony, which I dare say, will occur, to give the Enemy notice of the affair, and the measures taken in consequence.

To prevent similar abuses hereafter, from the practice of sending flag Boats, to places where we have no posts, I shall direct General Maxwell to write to the commanding Officer at Staten Island, assigning the places at which their boats will be received, and forbidding their being sent to any other without special licence. Should you wish at any time to change the established channels, you will only have to intimate your wish to Genl. Maxwell. I have the honor, etc.

P. S. Your Excellency's letter of the 14th Septr. was handed me some days since; but in the hurry of business mislaid. Capt. Costiger's[62] situation, being on parole would make it improper to take any steps in the affair, in which he is suspected to be concerned. My intention was to have had him exchanged; but there has been some mistake in executing it.[63]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, Fishkill, October 5, 1778.

Sir: I am much obliged to you for your several communications of the 3d. and 4th. Inst.

The relation of the two deserters[64] is certainly of a serious complexion, could we confide in its reality. But the reasons for

[62] Capt. Louis J. Costigan. Crowel brought him and his family from New York City to Brunswick, N. J.

[63] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

[64] The draft says "sailors." They were Cape Cod men who had escaped from the British prison ships at New York. Gates's letter of October 4 related "that an Empedemical Disease was brought to New York, in Admiral Byrons Fleet, which causes great Mortality, and Desertion, amongst the Sailors." Gates's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

denying it any great degree of credit are not a few. Of the different observers in New York and those places proper for attending the motions of the fleet, not one has made any return of such an occurrence. Major Howel in particular whose station is at Black point for the express purpose of watching the fleet, and giving regular information of their movements, has afforded me no light on this subject. However some interruption to his intelligence may have arisen from the enemys late irruption into the Jersey.

To gain as much certainty as our circumstances and situation are capable of, I could wish you to procure, if possible, some person in whom you can confide, to go to the west end of Long Island, for the purpose of intelligence and obtaining the truth of this matter.

I have since your letter given activity to those employed in such business and hope soon to have the matter either contradicted or ascertained. I have also directed my outposts to pay the utmost attention to those sailors &c. who may come from New York, that we may do every thing to avoid so alarming a contagion. I am &ca.[65] [N.Y.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters, Fishkill, October 5, 1778.

Dear Sir: This will accompany a letter from the Board of War to you and two others to the Clothiers at Boston and Providence. You will perceive there is one point in particular, which is referred to my decision. Whether the Continental troops with you shall be cloathed in the Articles of Coats, Jackets and breeches out of the imported ready made cloathing which has been

[65] In the writing of James McHenry.

ordered on to Springfield and Hartford, or out of the purchases in the hands of Mr. Reynolds, and the materials in possession of Messrs. Otis and Andrews. The latter mode appears to me preferable on several accounts. In the first place, it would save to the public the trouble and expence which would attend transporting the other cloathing to Springfield and Hartford and back again to Providence; for by the information I have received I am led to conclude the whole is by this time either arrived at those places or on its way. And in the next place, it would give the troops in this quarter a chance of being clothed equally soon with those under you, and, I believe not sooner. By the time the cloathing at Springfield and Hartford can be sorted repacked and forwarded to this army, there will be full leisure to provide a sufficiency in the other way for the troops with you. To expedite this, it might be advisable, to have the materials drawn from Messrs. Otis and Andrews to supply the deficiency in the quantity already procured by Mr. Reynolds, and to have the whole made up, in the state of Rhode Island where I should imagine Taylors enough are to be found to dispatch the business in a very short time; while Messrs. Otis and Andrews may be employed in preparing further supplies for the army in general. But this as you judge best and as shall be most consistent with the instructions of the board of war. The distance the troops here are from Boston, the source of our supplies, makes it equitable and for the good of the service that the Clothing first ready should come on for their use. The greater part of the Men with you are I apprehend better clad than those here; and will be sooner and better accommodated with quarters to shelter them from the approaching cold season which are additional reasons for adopting the mode I have mentioned. I believe the Board of war have greatly overrated the quantity of ready made

cloathing on the way. With respect to other articles, I have no alterations to propose in the directions given by the Board.

Our stock of cloathing is not yet so ample, but that great care and œconomy are still requisite. I dare say you will take every method in your power to procure exact returns of the men intitled to the new cloathing and will not suffer more to be drawn than is really necessary. I have been informed that General Glovers brigade has lately been completely clad, in uniform, procured by the immediate applications of the Commanders of regiments to the clothiers at Boston. If so, I should not conceive it to be within the spirit of the Board's arrangements, to furnish them anew out of the present stock. They can only mean, that the troops in general should be put into uniform and comfortable cloathing; and that the old cloaths delivered at different periods and of different kinds should be returned into the hands of the public; if any brigade has been recently provided with cloathes of the former description, it can hardly be their intention, after being worn a month or six weeks that these should be exchanged for others. I am also informed, that General Varnum had stopped some articles on the way to camp for the use of his Brigade. This should be inquired into and if found true, allowance made in the general distribution, which is about to take place.

The enemy remain much in the same situation. They have not yet left the Jerseys.[66] A packet has lately arrived from England. I am etc.

[66] On this same day (October 5) Washington wrote a second letter to Sullivan, sending the report of the two escaped sailors from New York that a British fleet had sailed to attack D'Estaing. This report, though it lacked confirmation, was to be sent to D'Estaing for what it was worth, and Sullivan, who was at Providence, was to assist the Comte should the British attempt a land cooperation with their fleet. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

He sent, also, the same information, with little change of wording, to Lord Stirling and Brig. Gens. William Maxwell and Charles Scott.

P. S. The Marquis has requested permission from me to make a visit to Head Quarters, on some private affairs of importance to him; to which I have consented. You will give him your concurrence accordingly.

You will forward my letter for Otis & Andrews with the one from the Board.[67]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL SMITH

October 5, 1778.

Sir: I have attentively considered the memorial you delivered me in behalf of a respectable number of officers in the Maryland line, requesting the restoration of Capt. Norwood. It gives me real pain, that I find myself obliged to refuse their request; but the duty I owe to justice and impartiality out weighs every other consideration. Notwithstanding the honorable testimony which is given of the general good character of Capt. Norwood; his conduct in the whole of the transaction, which has terminated in his present misfortune, so far as may be judged from the complexion of the public proceedings in his case must be viewed by every unbiassed mind, as in an high degree blameable.

The violation of the rules of military discipline and decorum, and the injuries offered to General Smallwood put it out of my power, as the affair is now circumstanced, to show the indulgence solicited, without essentially wounding the honor of that Gentleman, and encouraging a pernicious example in the army. If Capt. Norwood is sensible of his indiscretion, it will be in his power to make atonement; and when it could be done with propriety, I shall take pleasure, in remitting the consequences of his error. I am, etc.[67]

[67] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To MAJOR RICHARD HOWELL

Head Quarters, Fishkill, October 5, 1778.

Sir: I have just received a letter from Danbury containing the following paragraph,

> Two sailors belonging to Cape Cod, who made their escape from the Prison-ship last Monday night, arrived here. They declare, That the British fleet of men of war sailed ten days ago, in quest of the French fleet.

I cannot suppose this account to be well founded because I have heard nothing of the kind from you; and I have too good an opinion of your vigilance to suppose it possible, a circumstance of such importance and so obvious could escape your knowlege. I shall however be glad to hear immediately from you; and must desire you will take measures to ascertain the truth or falsehood of this report. I must also desire, that besides communicating instantly any event of importance that takes place among the enemy's shipping, you will every two or three days let me hear from you, if it be only to inform me that nothing new has occurred. It will be proper to take notice in your reports of every vessel, besides a mere boat that comes in and goes out; and for this purpose you will keep parties of observation continually stationed, with an intelligent officer always present. [68] I am, etc.[69]

To COMTE D'ESTAING

Head Quarters, October 5, 1778.

Sir: Two American Seamen, who made their escape from a prison Ship at New York, report that the british fleet sailed ten days ago in quest of the french Squadron.

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[68] Howell answered this (October 9): "report you mention is false, and the heavy Ships are now in View off the Neversinks. Admiral Biron is now at New York." Howell's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[69] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

This is an event of such importance, and which from the nature of it, admits so little of concealment, that I could not have been uninformed of it 'till now, supposing that it really happened, without the most unpardonable neglect in the Officer whom I have stationed in a convenient post for the express purpose of discovering the Enemy's naval movements; neither do I think it could have escaped the vigilance of our spies, or have passed unnoticed in the daily accounts given us by Deserters; however as such a report exists, and a failure in all the regular sources of our intelligence, however unlikely, is still a possible misfortune, I have immediately dispatched an Express to the Officers of out posts, to have the matter speedily investigated, and will do myself the honor to transmit Your Excellency, the result of their inquiries without delay; In the mean time I have thought it my duty to acquaint you with report and its origin, that you may not have any doubts or anxieties raised in your mind by hearing it from any other quarters; but by being apprised of it, know what attention to pay to it, and how to distinguish the Original Story, from the same with such improvements and additions as reports generally acquire by travelling.

While I am writing a Letter of the 3rd. Inst from Genl. Sullivan informs me that Admiral Biron accompanied by the Culloden had left Newport the Sunday preceding that date; this has doubtless been communicated to Your Excellency. It is a circumstance that seemingly favors the intelligence above mentioned. I have the honor, etc.[70]

*To EDWARD RUTLEDGE[71]

Fish-kill, October 5, 1778.

My dear Sir: Our correspondance seems to be at an end; but why it is so, I am at a loss to discover. In the Month of Augt.

[70] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

[71] Brother of John and member of the South Carolina Assembly in 1778.

last year, from the House of Mr. H. Hill[72] near Germantown (where I was then Incamped) I wrote you a Letter as long as my Arm;[73] Since which I have not received a line from you, but enquire at every oppertunity how you do.

Many great and important changes have taken place in our Military and Political Affairs since that period, and I hope, tho fortune at times seemed to frown upon us, for the better. The day seems now to dawn upon us, but Clouds and tempests may yet arise to endanger our Bark. The designs of the Enemy as yet, are impervious to the view. They are upon the eve (if one may judge from appearances) of some capital move; but of what nature, remains to be disclosed; many circumstances point to an evacuation of the States, others discredit a belief of it; in a word, it is very difficult to form a decided judgment of their plan; my opinion of it is, that they have none, but that Ministry vainly hoping that some good might result from their Commission, have not, as yet, communicated their final Orders to Sir Harry; who in the meanwhile, is busily preparing for a total evacuation, or an Expedition, the same preparations of Transports &ca. answering to both. If the latter is the plan, and the French Squadron at Boston is the object, which I think most important and likely, he has not a moments time to spare in commencing his operations.

Congress I presume, are suspicious of the Enemys having an eye to your State, by the measures they are taking for its defence; but I have no Idea myself of the Enemys detaching part of their Land or Sea force on an enterprize of this kind while a respectable French Fleet hovers on this Coast. You will have the whole or none of them. Tho there is no telling; for they have done, and left undone things, so contrary to common

[72] Henry Hill, of Indian Queen Lane, about 1 mile east of Schuylkill Falls, Pa.
[73] A draft of this letter is not found in the *Washington Papers*.

conceptions, that they puzzle, at all times and upon all occasions, even conjecture.

The bearer Majr. Genl. Lincoln is nominated by Congress to take Command of the Southern department, and I take the liberty of recommending him to your civilities as a worthy character, a brave, and an attentive Officer.[74] My respectful compliments await your Lady, the Mr. Middletons,[75] and other Gentn. of my acquaintance. With sincere esteem and regard I remain etc.

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, October 5, 1778.

Gentlemen: By the enclosed Copies of letters to General Sullivan and Messrs. Otis & Andrews, you will be informed of what I have written on the subject of Clothing, in consequence of the letter which you did me the honor to write on the 29th. Ulto.

The prospect of having the Army amply provided for, by your exertions, affords the highest degree of satisfaction. I am particularly happy to be informed that you have extended your orders for hats and shoes; The Season of the year and the roughness of the roads, should a march eastward become necessary; render the latter an article of immediate and indispensible necessity. I must therefore entreat that every possible step be taken for procuring a large and instantaneous supply from your factories or elsewhere. The present deficiency in this respect I have reason to think, is greatly increased by the bad quality of the imported shoes; at any rate it is such as will prevent the marching of a great many men, and render them miserable in a state of inaction. I have the honor etc.[76]

[74] On this same day (October 5) Washington wrote to President John Rutledge, of South Carolina, the same brief introduction of General Lincoln as above.

[75] Arthur Middleton, the Signer, and Henry, his brother.

[76] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Tuesday, October 6, 1778.

Parole Pannona. Countersigns Pool, Portland.

The Regimental Pay Masters are to make out their Pay Rolls for the Month of August and lodge them at the Pay Master Generals for Examination as soon as possible.

A Court of Enquiry whereof Lieut. Colo. Temple[77] was President which sat to examine into a Charge against Lieutt. Eggleston's[78] Conduct on the 26th. ultimo, report that the Charge was groundless and vexatious and that his Conduct was not only prudent but spirited and does him honor.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, Fishkill, October 6, 1778.

Sir: Colonel G. V. Schaick advises me in a letter of this date,[79] that he is " this moment informed, that, a ship, a tender and a galley are standing up the river; they were seen off Tallers point about ten O'clock this morning under sail. I have sent off a party of fifty men well officered to bring off a number of boats laying at Kings ferry."

You will give your attention to this information of the Colonels increase your vigilance on the River and respect every thing which may add to the security of your important post. I am, etc.[80]

[77] Lieut. Col. Benjamin Temple, of the First Continental Dragoons.

[78] Lieut. Joseph Eggleston (Egleston), of Lee's Light Dragoons. He was a captain in September, 1779; taken prisoner at Elizabethtown, N. J., in January, 1780; served to close of the war.

[79] Washington acknowledged Van Schaick's information in a brief note this same day (October 6), the draft of which is in the *Washington Papers*.

[80] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

To LORD STIRLING

October 6, 1778.

My Lord: I have had just now the honor of your letters of the 4th and 5th Instt.

As we are often obliged to reason on the designs of the enemy, from the appearances which come under our own observation and the information of our spies, we cannot be too attentive to those things which may afford us new light. Every minutiæ should have a place in our collection, for things of a seemingly triffling nature when conjoined with others of a more serious cast may lead to very valuable conclusions. The particular kind of forage which the enemy are now amassing in Jersey, may have a tendency this way. Whether it is long or short, such as is usually stored in their magazines for the winter, or procured as provender in sea voyages. You will endeavour my Lord to ascertain these matters of information, as well as to collect such further circumstances and facts as may be useful to inform our judgment as to their designs or destination. I am, etc.[81]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Fishkill, October 6, 1778.

Sir: Mr. Crowel's recent violation of the usages and laws of flags render it necessary to adopt some measures, that may prevent similar proceedings in future. For this purpose you will immediately fix upon a certain number of places for the reception of flag-boats, and advise the commanding Officer on Staten Island, of the places, and that no flag-boats will be received any where else without a special permission. But should the

[81] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

Governor think it expedient, in particular instances, to nominate any other place, at any time, you will comply with his instructions. I am &ca.[82]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, October 6, 1778.

Sir: This will be delivered to you by Major General the Marquis de la fayette, the generous motives which first induced him to cross the Atlantic, and enter the Army of the United States, are well known to Congress. Reasons equally laudable now engage his return to France, who in her present circumstances claims his services.

His eagerness to offer his duty to his Prince and Country, however great, could not influence him to quit the Continent in any stage of an unfinished Campaign; he resolved to remain at least 'till the close of the present, and embraces this moment of Suspense, to communicate his wishes to Congress, with a view of having the necessary arrangements made in time, and of being still within reach, should any occasion offer for distinguishing himself in the field.

The Marquis at the same time from a desire of preserving a relation with us, and a hope of having it yet in his power to be useful as an American Officer, solicits only a furlough, sufficient for the purposes above mentioned; a reluctance to part with an Officer, who unites to all the military fire of youth, an uncommon maturity of judgment, would lead me to prefer his being absent on this footing, if it depended on me.

I shall always be happy to give such a testimony of his services, as his bravery and conduct, on all occasions, entitle him to, and I have no doubt that Congress will add suitable expressions

[82] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

of their sense of his merit, and their regret on account of his departure.[83] I have the honor, etc.

P. S. The Marquis is so obliging as to take charge of a Packet containing the proceedings of a Court Martial in General Schuylers case.[84]

To THE COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENT FROM CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Fish Kill, October 6, 1778.

Sir: I had the honor of receiving, three days since your letter of the 30th of September; and should have answered it at once but was delayed by being separated from my papers, a recourse to which was necessary to assist my memory.

I recollect, that in a conference with the Committee of arrangement on the subject of inlisting prisoners and deserters, I gave my opinion explicitly against the practice; and that a letter was written by them to Congress, agreeable to this idea, though I am not equally clear, as to the precise contents of the letter, or whether I understood the scope of it to comprehend Pulaski's corps. It may have happened in the perplexity of business, that the peculiar circumstances of the establishment of this corps did not occur to me; otherwise I should have conceived myself bound to make an exception in its favour. A compact made between the publick and the Count, when all the inconveniences of engaging such characters had been fully experienced would have restrained me from recommending a

[83] On October 21 Congress granted Lafayette leave to return to France; ordered that the President write him a letter expressing the thanks of Congress and that the United States Minister at Paris obtain a sword and present it to the marquis as a gift from Congress; also a letter was ordered written to the King, recommending Lafayette to his sovereign.

[84] In the writing of James McHenry. The letter was read in Congress on October 13 and referred to Gouverneur Morris, R. H. Lee, John Witherspoon, Samuel Adams, and William Henry Drayton.

measure, which was a direct breach of it, and might give just cause of complaint. The principal motive for authorizing the Count to raise his corps, was to induce him voluntarily to relinquish the command of the cavalry, with which the officers under him were in general dissatisfied; and it was thought better to submit to the defect in its composition, than either to leave the cavalry in a state, which occasioned a total relaxation of discipline, and destroyed its usefulness, or to force the Count out of it, whose zeal and bravery entitled him to regard, without compensating in some way that might reconcile him to the sacrafice, he was required to make. When he proposed his plan to me, I informed him of the objections to it and even avoided flattering him with the concurrence of Congress. You will perceive by the inclosed extract of my letter to them on what footing the affair was placed. Their resolve of the 28th of March which sanctioned his raising a corps left the point of engaging prisoners and deserters undecided, but empowered me to dispense in that instance with their resolve against it, if I should deem it not injurious to the service. The reasons before assigned determined me to consent to the Counts views so far as to permit his composing a third of his infantry of deserters.

When the Board of War consulted me on the propriety of permitting this corps to join the army, recurring to the original principle of its formation, my opinion naturally favoured its coming forward, if agreeable to Congress. After all the trouble the Count has given himself to raise and equip the corps, he could not but esteem it a singular hardship to be deprived of the benifit of his exertions from considerations of inconvenience, which existed before they were undertaken and had been in a manner precluded by Contract.

The circumstance of the Count's having exceeded his establishment was a matter to which I did not advert. There would

certainly be no injustice in reducing the extra number. But whether as the men are raised and clad and the expence already incurred, it may not be as well to risk the additional disadvantage which may attend bringing them into the field is a question which Congress will decide.

I am extremely sorry, if any misconception in me should have been the cause of the least embarrassment to the Committee; and I hope the explanation I have now given will remove every difficulty. With the greatest esteem etc.[85]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, October 7, 1778.

Sir: Your letter of yesterday reached me in the night. Your observations on the probable intentions of the enemy are forcible.[86] The capture, or destruction of the French fleet appears to be the most important object, they can have on the continent; and it is very possible, they may have it in contemplation, though the time they have lost, since they have had the superiority at sea and the advanced season of the year are strong arguments against it. Our present disposition was formed on the possibility of such an event, at the same time, that it does not lose sight of the security of the North River, or the concentration of our force to repel any attempt upon the army. Though it may not be probable that the enemy have at present any design against either of these, it would be imprudent to offer them a temptation by diminishing our strength in a considerable detachment, so far Eastward as to be out of supporting distance.

[85] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[86] Great Britain's principal interest now was her war with France and military affairs in America had been relegated to a secondary place. Acting under orders from England, Sir Henry Clinton had sent detachments from the New York garrison to Halifax and Bermuda, 5,000 troops to the West Indies, and 3,000 to Florida. These orders were unknown to Washington, to whom the large scale embarkation preparations in New York appeared to presage an intention of evacuating the city.

If they were able to possess themselves of the Highland passes and interrupt the navigation of the River, the consequences on the score of subsistence would be terrible as well to the fleet as the army. It is supposed the enemy have lost all hopes of effecting any thing material against these states, and this supposition is upheld by powerful reasons; but after all, the truth of it depends so much upon the contingencies of naval operations and European politics, that it would be very unwise to let it essentially influence our military arrangements.

I am taking measures for having all the roads leading towards Boston put in repair, for the more convenient march of the several columns, in case a movement further Eastward should become necessary. You will therefore be pleased to send a proper fatigue party on the lower route leading from Danbury to Hartford, so that the column which may march thence may not interfere, with the others, by falling into the same road so long as it can be avoided. The column nearest to that, will proceed by New Millford, Woodbury and Waterbury to Farmington. The repairs are only to be extended through the rough country.

You will also send a Quarter Master forward to observe the good halting places at proper stages. His report you will communicate to me. I am, etc.[87] [N.Y.H.S.]

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, near Fredericksburg, October 7, 1778.

Sir: On the 23d and 30th May, I did myself the Honor to transmit to your Excellency Returns of the troops of Virginia. By the conveyance now offered me by Colo. Wood, I inclose another, comprehending their State on the 30th. Ulto. Your Excellency and the Honorable Assembly which I am informed

[87] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

is about to sit, will perceive from this, how far deficient the Troops are, in the Quota assigned the state. Their present amount would not be great, supposing every man mentioned in the Return were in the Field; but a large deduction is to be made from it, on account of the columns of Sick. It is highly probable, that many under this description particularly that of Sick absent, are actually dead, others unfit for service and that several who have recovered, have deserted. Besides this, I find by a Return which I have just obtained, that there are Seven Hundred and Ninety Six, Drafts and Others, whose term of service will expire in the course of the ensuing Winter.

I thought it expedient to advise your Excellency of the above facts, that you and the Assembly may adopt such measures, for providing Recruits or Drafts for the next Campaign, as may be judged proper. What these measures will be, will be with you and the Assembly to determine; but I will take the liberty to suggest it, as my opinion, that it will be well for the States in general, to give the raising of Men the earliest consideration; and to pursue such speedy and vigorous means, as will place our Army upon a respectable footing. I have been exerting myself to have the Drafts inlisted and the Old Soldiers reengaged, who are on the point of being discharged, for the usual bounty allowed by Congress; but my attempts as yet have been without any or with but very inconsiderable success. Besides the Continental bounty I have offered the Virginians, in this predicament, on the part of the State, a further bounty of Twenty Dollars pr. Man, the ballance remaining in my hands of the Money deposited by their Delagates in Congress last Spring, being sufficient for the purpose; but this has proved no temptation.

If deficiencies and the expiration of the service of Troops in the course of the Winter, were peculiar to Virginia, I should not be so much concerned, tho' that I confess would be a

circumstance of no small mortification; but when I know that they are not, that the Enemy are still with us, in respectable, I may add, formidable force; and that another Campaign may take place, I feel very much interested in our pursuing measures that will make us equal to all events, and the establishing of our Independence. I cannot say with precision, that we shall have occasion the next year to employ a large Army, as the designs of the Enemy and their future system of conduct are intirely unknown; but from their remaining so long, and the approach of Winter, it would seem, tho' there have been flattering appearances to the contrary, that they do not mean to leave the Continent. But, be this as it may, it will be wise in the States to provide for every contingency, and we may reasonably conclude, if they determine to try the event of Another Campaign, that they will act with vigor; and by concentering the force they now have, independent of any other aid or augmentation, they may make it a very serious, and a very important one. From these considerations, I am induced to hope, that we shall not relax on our part, but on the contrary that we shall use every prudent and practicable exertion, to put ourselves in a good posture of defence. If this is done, we shall be prepared for War, and if Britain should relinquish her ideas of conquest and withdraw her Armies, it will be easy to cease our efforts, and to disband our Levies.

I would also inform your Excellency, that the Virginia Regiments, in the Continental line, have lately undergone a reform and are now reduced to Eleven. This measure, the Committee of Arrangement appointed by Congress, deemed it expedient to adopt, as some of them were not larger than a Company or two in point of Effectives. There may be many other matters respecting the Virginia Troops, in which you may wish satisfaction, and which do not occur to me at this time. If there are, I

must take the liberty of referring you to Colo. Wood, who will be able to give the furthest information. I have the Honor, etc.[88]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT

Head Quarters, October 8, 1778.

Sir: I learnt with equal chagrin and astonishment, from your letter of yesterday's date, of the new disgrace which has happened to Sheldon's horse;[89] these surprises can only be attributed to the unpardonable inattention of Officers, and their scandalous sacrifice of every other consideration to the indulgences of good Quarters; the frequency of them becomes intolerable and demands some exemplary punishment. I desire that the present case may be very strictly inquired into, and that Col. Sheldon may in my name be desired to address the Officers of horse in such terms as will awaken a sense of their duty. While the Safety of the Army often rests on their vigilance, they neglect the most ordinary precautions for their own security, and risk their own honor, the lives or liberty of their Soldiers, and open an avenue for some more extensive operation of the enemy. If any Officer regardless of his own reputation and the important duty he owes the public, suffers himself to be surprised, he cannot expect if taken, that interest should be made for his exchange, or if he saves his person, to escape the Sentence of a Court Martial.

An instance which fell under my own observation yesterday, and the frequency of delays in conveying Letters by the means

[88] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

On October 7 Washington had written briefly to Brig. Gen. Charles Scott requesting information as to "the number of flat bottom boats, the number of transports, and vessels of force in the river as well as their exact situation. We should know all these things without any doubt or uncertainty because we may do it without exposing the observers to any great danger." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[89] A patrol of Sheldon's cavalry was surprised on the Clap Tavern Road on the morning of October 7, with a loss of 9 men and 11 horses.

of the stationary expresses, lead me to desire that you would speak to Lt. Colo. Temple or whoever commands Blands Regiment, to remedy the abuse, and particularly to inquire into the reason of William Allen's[90] delay, in returning yesterday, which is the instance above alluded to.

I shall this afternoon return to my old Quarters at Mr. Kane's,[91] Fredericksburg, you will in consequence take timely care to alter the route of your expresses.

Be so good as to continue the strictest inquiry relative to the report of the sailing of the fleet, as desired in my former letter.[92] I am etc.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Fishkill, October 8, 1778.

Dear Sir: I shall remove this afternoon to Fredericksburg to which place be pleased to address any future intelligence. If the enemy should make any move up the river of a serious nature, you are immediately to call upon Baron de Kalb who will remain here until the designs of the Enemy are more fully known.

I would recommend it to you, always to keep a sufficiency of Boats ready to throw over your force to West point, and not depend upon contingencies. You should also establish some other mode of obtaining intelligence from below than by means of your guard Boats. If they should fall into the hands of the enemy, they will be upon you, before you have time to make the least preparation. I would therefore advise you to fix small guards upon the points to give signals by firing of Guns, or lighting fires of the approach of an enemy. Between them and the Boats you cannot fail of notice by night or day. I am &ca.[93]

[90] William Allen, a dragoon express rider.
[91] John Kane. (The name is spelled Keane in the expense account.)
[92] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.
[93] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To BARON DE KALB

Head Quarters, October 8, 1778.

Sir: As I am removing Head Quarters from this place, it may not be unnecessary to inform you, that the former directions given you respecting the objects of your division and the conduct you are to observe with regard to the Highland posts still continue in force.

The Quarter Master here has represented to me that the present position of your troops so near the road causes a consumption of the forage, which is absolutely necessary for the use of the teams employed in public transportation; This is an inconvenience I should wish might be avoided, and I would therefore have you to remove your division a little distance from the communication, so as not however to lose sight of other objects. It may not be amiss to consult Col. Hay on this point. I am etc.[94]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN STARK

Fishkill, October 8, 1778.

Sir: I have been favd. with yours of the 31st. Augt. and 7th. 15th. and 28th. September. The subject of Mrs. McNeils petition[95] comes under the notice of the Qr. Mr. General, General Mifflin, who was in that Office at the time the grievance complained of was committed, has lately had one million of dollars put into his hands for the purpose of discharging all old demands, and I see that Colonel Hughes is appointed to adjust and settle all those in the State of New York. To him therefore Mrs. McNeil must apply. The proceedings of the Court Martial held at Schoharie never came to hand. The inclosed paper,

[94] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[95] Mrs. McNeil claimed damages for the use of her house by the soldiers. Her petition is not found in the *Washington Papers*.

which appears by the indorsement to have contained the proceedings, was all that you sent.[96]

The Qr. Master should make a reasonable compensation to those persons who take up shot or any Stores from the North River and deliver them to him. I have laid your several complaints against Colo. Lewis,[97] before the Qr. Mr. General. Colo. Lewis has sent down a vindication of his conduct and desires a proper inquiry, which the Qr. Mr. General must make.

I would not have you build Barracks at Fort Edward. The troops now there may winter at Saratogha, where are good Barracks for 300 Men. If there should be a necessity of keeping a small command at Fort Edward,[98] a Hut or two may be easily erected for the purpose. If Colo. Butler undertakes the Unadilla expedition[99] I hope he may have success. I am very glad to hear of the blow struck by the Oneida Indians upon the rear of Brant's Party. I am &ca.[1] [N.H.H.S.]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Fishkill, October 8, 1778.

Dear Sir: I received yours of yesterday inclosing a letter from Genl. Nixon and a deposition respecting the abuse of several inhabitants of the State by some Officers of the Army. I shall immediately order the Officers to be secured untill civil process shall issue against them.[2]

[96] At this point the draft has the following, which was not incorporated in the letter sent: "Your letter of the 7th Septr. never reached me until the 24th of the same month, when the batteau men were immediately sent up."

[97] Col. Morgan Lewis, deputy quartermaster general, Northern Department.

[98] At this point the draft has: "during the winter."

[99] A Mohawk settlement in Otsego County, N. Y., which had developed into a place of refuge for Tories and runaway negroes.

[1] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[2] "An outrage has been committed on some inhabitants of this State by a Lieut. Henderson, Marshal B. Ball and Ensn. Smith as appears from a deposition in the hands of the bearer of this letter. As these officers are of your command, you will be pleased to direct them under immediate confinement to remain so till the civil power

A flag Boat was standing up the River yesterday with directions to proceed as far as Fishkill landing, to take off the family and effects of Mr. Cuyler[3] of Albany. As I understood from Mr. Cuyler, when he went into New York himself, that his family and effects were not to be permitted to go down untill he had cleared up some matters respecting the exchange of himself and Major Lush,[4] I ordered the Boat to be stopped below West Point. If it is proper that Mr. Cuyler's effects should be sent to him, be pleased to direct them to be carried from Fishkill to the Boat below West Point, as there are many good reasons why the persons on board of her should not have an opportunity of coming further up and viewing the Works.

I send you by the Express a number of packets directed for your Excellency, the House of Assembly and the different Officers of Government, they came out yesterday by a Flag and contain a Manifesto and proclamation,[5] by the British Commissioners, of a very extraordinary Nature. I have the honor, etc.

P. S. Be pleased to write a line to Genl. Putnam if the Boat is to return with Mr. Cuylers effects. That he may take off the Guard. I shall return to Fredericksburg this Afternoon if the weather is good, at which place I shall be happy to receive your favr.[6]

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can take place."—*Washington to Malcom,* Oct. 8, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[3] Abraham Cuyler.

[4] Maj. Stephen Lush, aide to Governor Clinton. He had been taken prisoner at Fort Montgomery, N. Y., in October, 1777.

[5] The Proclamation and Manifesto of Oct. 3, 1778. A broadside of this is in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.

[6] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

On October 8 Washington wrote briefly to Lord Stirling that Congress by a resolve of September 30 had ordered Pulaski's corps and all the Continental troops in the vicinity of Philadelphia to Princeton. Stirling was requested by Washington to issue the necessary instructions and to order all the detachments then at Princeton to join their commands.

Also on this same date (October 8) Washington wrote to Col. William Malcom. granting permission for the supernumerary officers of Col. Enoch Poor's regiment to return to their homes and to Col. John Beatty, Commissary General of Prisoners, requesting a "detail state of the wants and condition of the prisoners with the enemy, the better to enable me to represent their case and real sufferings to Congress." This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Frederick'sburgh,
Friday, October 9, 1778.

Parole Bennington. Countersigns Bolton, Berks.

Particular Brigade returns to be made to the orderly Office on Monday next agreeable to a form which will be given by the Adjutant General. Regimental Returns to be delivered in the same day by the Brigade Majors containing every Article of Cloathing in Possession of the non commissioned Officers and soldiers discriminating the good and serviceable from the bad and unserviceable; These returns are to be as exact and complete as possible.

All Commissaries and Clothiers in and near the Army to make returns on the same day and in the same manner of all the Cloathing and Materials for Cloathing in their hand, respectively, distinguishing State from Continental Cloathing, and if any Quarter Masters have Cloathing of any kind in their possession they are to do the same.

Mr. Kemper[7] will take particular Care to communicate this order to the Commissaries and Cloathiers and the Quarter Master General to his Assistants and Deputies.[8]

To COLONEL RUFUS PUTNAM

Head Quarters, October 9, 1778.

Sir: I have perused your Report of this date to Genl. McDougall. You will continue your examination of the different

[7] Daniel Kemper, Assistant Clothier General.

[8] On October 9 Hamilton, by Washington's direction, ordered Maj. John Bigelow, assistant clothier at Hartford, Conn., to make an exact return of all clothing and materials he had furnished any State by order of Congress or the Board of War. Hamilton's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

roads, and reconnoitre the most convenient halting places on each, allowing the interval of an easy days march from one to the other, and make a report of the whole to me, that I may be enabled to regulate the different routes.

The Road towards Litchfield appears from your account of it to be worth attention, and Colo. Hall[9] should be directed to proceed on it accordingly. I am etc.[10] [HV.L.]

To GEORGE MEASAM

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 9, 1778.

Sir: I am favoured with your letter of the 4th. instant.[11] The several particulars contained in it should be considered and any measures that may appear necessary in consequence, taken. There is one part of it, however, which demands my immediate attention. You wish to have regimental returns made of the cloathing wanted for each regiment in order to make it up in parcels answerable to those returns, for the more convenient delivery; and in the mean time you think it necessary the business of sorting and repacking should be suspended. This delay of a matter of such consequence, appears to me totally unnecessary. I am therefore to desire you will immediately set about it, without waiting for the returns required. All the Cloathing of a particular quality and uniform, should be packed together in parcels of different sizes, containing two, three, four and five hundred suits, and marked and numbered accordingly. There

[9] Col. Josias Carvil Hall, of the Fourth Maryland Regiment.

[10] In the writing of James McHenry.

[11] Measam's letter announced the shipment to headquarters of 3,129 pair of shoes, about 600 blankets, and 2,612 pair of hose. The clothing from France had not come farther forward than Springfield, Mass., and it was this that needed assorting and repacking in shape for proper issue. There were various difficulties in keeping the clothing accounts, invoices, etc., which caused delay. Measam's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

should be but a small proportion of the five hundred packages. When this is done, the returns can be made, and it will be very easy to make the delivery.

The season is far advanced, not a moment is to be lost, and I must pray your utmost activity in giving all possible dispatch. I am etc.[12]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 10, 1778.

Sir: I recd. yours of yesterday by Major Marshall who delivered the prisoners Farnsworth[13] and Blair to the provost. The crime of passing counterfeit Bills of credit, by which our currency has been extremely depreciated, added to the strong suspicion of their being both Spies, will render it necessary to have them executed according to their Sentences. I shall direct a sensible Clergyman to get as ample a confession from them as possible.

Congress having constantly given direction in all matters concerning the prisoners of the Convention I would recommend it to you to lay Lord Balcarras's[14] letters to yourself and Colo. Magaw before them. It is evident that if he is remanded to Massachusetts, Colo. Magaw will be immediately recalled. I am etc.[15]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 10, 1778.

Dear Sir: I received yours of yesterdays date with its several inclosures this morning.

[12] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[13] Farnsworth had been recommended for leniency by the court-martial.
[14] Alexander, Earl of Balcarras, major in the Fifty-third Foot, British Army.
[15] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

I really begin to have my fears respecting the safety of Capt. Leavensworth. I wish his zeal may not have carried him too far into the enemy's tract.

The sentence of death passed by the Court on Elisha Smith of Colo. Sheldons Regiment seems sufficiently clear and well founded. You will therefore be pleased to direct his execution agreeable to your own desire and the tenor of his warrant which is inclosed. The example being made where the opportunity to desert is greatest, may have a good tendency in checking so pernicious a practice.

It will be necessary to make some change in the relay of express horsemen, some of those on this duty have been very irregular and faulty in its discharge. Let it be the business of an Officer to put such on this service as are steady, sober, and attentive. He will also place them in a more direct line between this and Bedford, as I have removed from Fishkill to my old quarters. I am etc.[16]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 10, 1778.

Gentlemen: The Committee of Arrangement having determined to annex the Regiment late Patton's to Colo. Hartleys, it will be proper to put them in the same Uniform. I have therefore desired Capt. Prowell,[17] the commanding Officer to send an Officer to Philada. with an exact return of the Regiment, and the Cloathing wanting. Be pleased to give an order to the Cloathier General to have them made up after the same fashion of Hartley's and as speedily as possible, as the Men are in extreme want. I have the honour, etc.[18]

[16] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

[17] Joseph Prowell. He was then major of Patton's Additional Continental regiment; was transferred to the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment in January, 1779; retired in June of that year.

[18] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

*To JOHN PARKE CUSTIS

Fredg. in the State of N. York, October 10,[19] 1778.

Dear Sir: I have now, at your request, given my full consent to the Sale of the Lands which I hold in right of Dower in a Tract in the County of York, to a Water Grist Mill thereon; To Lotts in the City of Williamsburg, and others in James Town. As also to yr. Renting or otherwise disposing of the other Dower Lands and Slaves which I am possessed of in the County of King William, upon the terms which have been specifically agreed and subscribed to; but I should think myself wanting in that friendship and regard which I have ever professed for, and endeavoured to evince towards you, were I to withhold my advice from you with respect to the disposal of them.

A Moments reflection must convince you of two things. first that Lands are of permanent value, that there is scarce a possibility of their falling in price, but almost a Moral certainty of their rising exceedingly in value; and secondly, that our Paper Currency is fluctuating; that it has depreciated considerably, and that, no human foresight can, with precision, tell how low it may get as the rise or fall of it depends upon contingencies which the utmost stretch of human sagacity can neither foresee, nor prevent. These positions being granted, and no one can gainsay the justice of them, it follows that by parting from your Lands you give a certainty for an uncertainty; because, it is not the nominal Price. It is not ten, fifteen, or twenty pounds an Acre, but the relative value of this Sum to Specie, or something of substantial worth that is to constitute a good price. The inference therefore I mean to draw, and the advice I shall give in consequence of it, is this, that you do not convert the Lands you now hold into Cash faster than your present Contract with

[19] George Washington Parke Custis's *Recollections of Washington* prints this as of October 12.

the Alexanders, and a certain prospect of against vesting it in other lands more convenient, requires of you; this will be treading upon sure ground; it will enable you to discharge contracts already entered into and in effect, exchange Land for Land, for it is a matter of Moonshine to you considered in that point of view how much the Money depreciates if you can discharge one pound with another pound and get Land of equal value to that you sell; but far different from this, is the case of those who sell for Cash and keep that Cash by them, put it to Interest, or receive it in annual payments; for in either of these cases, if our currency should, unfortunately, continue to depreciate in the manner it has done in the course of the last two years, a pound may not, in the space of two years more, be worth a Shilling, the difference of which becomes a clear loss to the possessor and evinces in a clear point of view the force and efficacy of my advice to you to pay debts and vest it in something that will retain its primitive value; or rather, in your case, not to part with that thing for money, unless it be with a view to the Investing it in something of equal value; and it accts. at the same time for the principle upon which I act with respect to my own Interest in the Dower Lands; for I should be wanting to myself, and guilty of an inexcusable act of remission, and criminl. injustice to your Mother, not to secure an equivalent for her releasemt. of Dower; and this might be the case of a nominal sum, that had no relative value to the thing in question; and which, eventually, might be a means of giving away the Estate, for it is not the number of Pounds but the worth and what they will fetch that is to stamp the value of them. Four hundred Pounds in Paper Dollars now is, and I suppose, at the time of parting with this Dower may be, worth one hundred pounds in Specie; but two years hence, One hundred pounds in Specie may be worth, and will fetch one thousand pounds of Paper; it cannot be reasonable or just therefore to expect that I, or your Mother, if she should be the

Survivor, should loose this, when no person I believe, will undertake to give it as an opinion, that the value of the Dower will decrease but the direct contrary as Lands are increasing in their price every day.

This, if you follow the advice here given, cannot be the case with you, let money depreciate as it will; because, with a pound you pay a pound in discharge of a purchase already made and for those to be made you can regulate yr. Sales by yr. purchases.

It may be said that our money will recover a proper tone again, and in that case it would be an advantage to turn Lands &ca. into Cash for the benefit of the rise. In answer to this I shall only observe, that this is a lottery, that it may or may not happen; that, if it should happen, you have lost nothing; if it should not, you have saved your Estate, which in the other case might have been sunk. Hence it appears that you may play a good and sure game, so far as it relates to yourself, and so far as it respects me, the advantage is wholely on your side; for instance, if the difference between specie and paper at this time is as four to one, and next year is eight to one, it makes no difference to you, because the presumption is that the same Tobo., Corn, and other produce will rise in proportion to the fall of Money and fetch in quantity what it lacks in quality; but on the other hand, if the Intt. was to be fixed at the present difference of 4 to 1, and should hereafter become as one to one that is equal I should get 4 times as much as I am content to receive, and you would loose it; from hence as before you may gain, and cannot loose; while I get the simple value of the Estate, and can neither gain or loose; which is all I aim at by fixing the value of the Dower in Specie, to be discharged in any Money currt. in the Country at the time of payment, at the prevailing Exchange or difference between Specie and Paper.

It may possibly be said that this is setting up a distinction between Specie and Paper and will contribute to its deprecia-

tion; I ask if there is a Man in the United States that does not make a distinction when 4 to 1 is the difference, and whether it is in the power of an Individual to check this when Congress and the several Assembly's are found unequal to the task. Not to require, or contract for the actual payment in Specie, but to keep this as much out of Sight as possible in common cases that are to have an immediate operation, is all that can be expected; but in a bargain that may exist for twenty years, there should be something to insure mutual advantage, which advantage tho every Man can judge of in the transactions of a day, no Man can do it when it is to be extended to years under the present fluctuating state of Paper Bills of Credit.

My design in being thus particular with you, is to answer two purposes; first, to shew my ideas of the impropriety of parting with your own Lands faster than you can vest the Money in other lands (comprehending those already purchased) and Secondly, to evince to you the propriety of my own Conduct, in securing to myself and your Mother the intrinsic value, neither more nor less, of the Dower Estate.

I have only one piece of advice more to give, and that is to aim rather at the Exchange, than Sale of your Lands; and I think among those Gentn. mentioned in a former Letter, you may find chapmen.[20] I am etc.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Saturday, October 10, 1778.

Parole Southborough. Countersigns Selim, Salem.

A General Court Martial of the Line whereof Colo. Patten[21] is appointed President, to assemble at the Presidents Quarters

[20] Buyers. (See Washington's letter to John Parke Custis, Aug. 3, 1778, *ante*.)

[21] Col. John Patten, of the Second North Carolina Regiment. He was taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1780, and retired in January, 1783.

next Monday morning nine o'Clock and sit at such Place as he shall appoint for the trial of all Persons who shall be brought before them. Lieutt. Colo. Loring,[22] Major Hait,[23] a Captain from the North Carolina Brigade, one from each of the Pennsylvania Brigades, two from each of the Connecticutt and three from General Nixon's, will attend as Members.

Captn. Moore[24] of the 3rd. Pennsylvania Regiment is appointed Major of Brigade to the 2nd. Pennsylvania Brigade and is to be obeyed and respected as such.

Lieutenant Thomas Drew[25] is appointed Pay Master to Colo. Grayson's Regiment and Lieut. John Jeremiah Jacob,[26] Pay Master to the 6th. Maryland Regiment.

At a General Court Martial held at Bedford the 8th. of October 1778, by order of General Scott, whereof Lieutt. Colo. Blackden[27] was President, Elisha Smith, a Private of Captn. Stoddard's Company, in the 2nd. Regiment of Light Dragoons was tried for deserting to the Enemy last August, for piloting the Enemy in an Incursion into and against the Troops of these States, defrauding the Public by selling his horse, Arms, Accoutrements, Furniture and Cloathing in a treasonable manner to the Enemy and for Mutiny in insulting and menacing his Officers, while a Prisoner with them, found guilty of breaches of the 1st. Article, 6th. Section and of the 3rd. Article of 12th. Section of the Articles of War and sentenced to suffer Death.

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[22] Lieut. Col. Jotham Loring, of the Third Massachusetts Regiment.

[23] Maj. Joseph Hait, of the Eighth Connecticut Regiment. At this date he had been promoted to lieutenant colonel; was transferred to the Second Connecticut Regiment in October, 1779; retired in January, 1781.

[24] Capt. Thomas Lloyd Moore, of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment. He was major in the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment in May, 1779; was transferred to the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment in January, 1781; retired in January, 1783.

[25] Lieut. Thomas Haynes Drew, of Grayson's Additional Continental regiment. He was transferred to Gist's Additional Continental regiment in April, 1779; resigned in July of that year.

[26] Lieut. John Jeremiah Jacobs (Jacob), of the Sixth Maryland Regiment. He resigned in February, 1780.

[27] Lieut. Col. Samuel Blackden (Blagden), of the Second Continental Dragoons.

His Excellency the Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders said Elisha Smith to be executed next Monday the 12th. inst. 11 o'Clock in the forenoon at or near Bedford as General Scott shall direct.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Frederick'sburgh,
Sunday, October 11, 1778.

Parole Amiens. Countersigns Abington, Acton.

The following summary of the duties of the Marechausie Corps commanded by Captn. V. Heer[28] is published for the Information of the Army at large. The General hopes that the Institution, by putting men on their Guard will operate more in preventing than punishing Crimes.

While the Army is encamped the Officers of this Corps are to patrole the Camp and it's neighborhood for the purpose of apprehending Deserters, Marauders, Drunkards, Rioters and Straglers under which last denomination are included all soldiers who are found beyond the nearest Picquets in front and on the Flanks and beyond the distance of one mile estimated from the Center of the Encampment, in the rear; They are also to apprehend all other soldiers that may be detected in a Violation of General orders;

All Countrymen and Strangers whose Appearance or Manners excite Suspicion of their being Spies, and are not furnished with Passes either from some General Officer, the Quarter Master General or the Commissaries General of Provision or Forage. The Officers of this Corps are directed not to apprehend any Offender who may be within the Encampment of his own Regiment, as it is expected that the Regimental Quarter-Guard will in that Case secure the Offender.

[28] Capt. Bartholomew von Heer.

Captain Von Heer is to keep an exact List of all licensed Sutlers and confine any follower of the Army who may presume to suttle without proper leave. Every newly appointed Sutler is therefore to signify his Appointment to Captain V. Heer and produce a proper Certificate thereof.

On a day of march this Corps with the Provost Guard is to remain on the old ground 'till the Columns and Baggage have moved off, in order to secure all such soldiers as have loitered in Camp and the officers are to see that the soldiers and Women who march with the baggage do not transgress the General Orders made for their Government; They will likewise secure all straglers on the march, treating in this light all soldiers absent from their Platoons without a Non Commissioned Officer to conduct them. On a day of battle the Marechausie will be posted in the Rear of the Second Line or Reserve in order to secure Fugitives.

The Commander in Chief strictly forbids all persons whatever to do or say anything that may tend to impede the Officers of this Corps in the Execution of their duty; On the contrary, He requires that they may be respected and assisted, as good order and discipline will be much promoted by the full Exercise of their office.

If any offender attempts to escape or presumes to make any resistance he will incur double punishment and all persons belonging to the Army are required to succour any part of the Marechausie Corps that may be opposed in the Prosecution of their duty.

The Captain of the Marechausie will have the usual Provost Guard drawn from the line near him and under his Direction for the Security of Prisoners. He is every morning to deliver a written report of the Persons committed the preceding day

and the charges against them to the Adjutant General who will have proper Courts Martial held for their trial; This is to be considered as a standing order and as such to be published in the different Parts of the Army. The Adjutants of Regiments are to have it frequently read to the men, that by being reminded of what is prohibited and the Certainty of punishment they may avoid the one and the other.

No Officers except those who have authority to do it are to send men from Camp, lest they should expose such men to punishment and subject themselves to trial for disobedience of Orders.

In Consideration of the nature of their duty, Regimental Pay Masters are to be included in the List of those Officers who are intitled to keep a horse and draw Forage.

The Commanding Officers of Regiments are requested to send to the Auditors Office the Names of their respective Pay Masters.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 11, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am honoured with yours of the 9th. inclosing a Resolution of your legislature directing two Companies of Colo. Enos's Regiment to be stationed at Greenwich. I cannot but express my fears that they will be in danger, except they act as a kind of patrole. The light Corps of the Army under General Scott affords as much cover to that part of the Country as it is possible for me to give in our present situation. It is so near to Kingsbridge, at which the Enemy keep a very considerable force, that to post a Body of troops there, out of supporting distance, would be an invitation to the enemy to come out and

certain destruction to the Men. Strong patroles from the advanced Corps go as far down as they can consistent with safety, and prevent the Enemy from doing more than taking off some forage or Cattle if they fall in their way.[29] This is an inconvenience that those who lay near the enemy's lines must, from the nature of things, unavoidably submit to. From every information the Enemy are upon the eve of some general and important move. Many think that they mean to evacuate New York totally. If they do this, the most likely place of operation, if they remain upon the Continent, will be against Boston, for the purpose of destroying the french fleet in that Harbour. To be prepared to throw in the most timely assistance, should such an event take place, was the reason of my withdrawing the Army from the White Plains and taking the present position. The expediency of this move, naturally exposed the south West quarter of your State, somewhat more than when we lay lower down; but I am in hopes that the inhabitants have not suffered much from the Ravages of the Enemy as our advanced Corps have been very alert, and have kept them pretty much within bounds except when they come out in great force. I have the honour etc.[30]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, near Fredericksburg, October 11, 1778.

Gentlemen: The Incessant and pressing applications of the Officers and their real distress for Cloathing, obliges me to repeat my wishes to the Board to obtain the earliest direction of

[29] On October 12 Washington wrote to Lord Stirling: "As your Lordship's force is very unequal to that of the Enemy, I would not wish you to remain so near them as to intice them to aim a blow at you. Keeping their foragers from extending themselves far from their main Body is your object and all that can be expected in your circumstances." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[30] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Congress for relieving their wants. They are in a very disagreeable situation in this respect, and, unless some mode can be adopted for speedily supplying them, Many will be obliged involuntarily to quit the service, or if this should not be the case, we shall be involved in perpetual complaints and the most painful applications.

I do not recollect, when the Army was first appointed, that there was any engagement on the part of the public, that the Officers should be provided with Cloathing, thro' their means, nor has there been any explicit declaration since, that I remember, for the purpose, but the measure has become indispensably necessary, and without the intervention of publick aid, they never can be supplied; for their pay, if the Articles proper could be found in a private way, from the enormous and exorbitant prices now exacted for every thing, would prove wholly incompetent to the end. There is however, a Resolution of Congress of the 22d of Novr. last, which points to a provision, thro' the public means and those of the States, individually taken. This has encouraged the Officers to look for Supplies in the manner there professed and their not being able to obtain them, makes them more uneasy perhaps, than if the Resolution had never passed. I have written to Messrs. Otis & Andrews to make a Return of the Cloth &c in their hands proper for Officers, and also to advise me what quantities might be procured, in case the Board should direct a purchase. This appears to be the only practicable expedient at this time, from which relief can be drawn, and if it is to be adopted, the Agents cannot be too soon ordered to carry it into execution. I really wish to be informed by the Board, by the first opportunity, whether the Officers may expect Supplies thro the public Stores, that I may be able to answer them decisively upon the point when

they apply. As matters now stand, I am in a very aukward and irksome situation.

Since it is evident, that the Officers cannot provide themselves with Cloathing and that there is a necessity for the intervention of publick aid, I would submit it to the Board, whether it may not be proper for them to form an Estimate of Cloathing, proportioned to the number of Officers in the Army, for the consideration of Congress, and to obtain their sanction for importing the same, if they approve the plan. This measure, it seems to me, is the only one that can insure relief in future, and it appears the more eligible, as the loss to the public will be infinitely less, than if they procure the Articles in the Country, supposing that it could be done. Besides this consideration, the Officers then might be properly uniformed, and all placed on a just and equal footing.

If the Board should be authorised to direct an immediate purchase of Cloathing for the Officers, I will take the liberty to suggest, that it may not be improper for them to enjoin on the part of the Cloathier, a strict compliance with the Resolution of Congress which I have mentioned, in the sale. The Officers say, that hitherto it has not had the necessary and generous operation intended by Congress; but on the contrary, in the few instances, in which they have been able to furnish themselves with Articles from the public Stores, that they have done it, at the current exorbitant prices. Indeed there are many matters in the Department, which require a more perfect and explicit arrangement than has ever been made; and at present there is such a Clashing of Office and of Officers, that it is difficult to determine how or with whom business is to be transacted. I have the Honor, etc.[31]

[31] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter was read in Congress on November 30 and referred to the Committee on the Clothier's Department to which James Searles was added.

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 11, 1778.

Sir: Your favour of yesterday was handed me in the afternoon. I thank you for the communication of Majr. Gray's[32] letter, I have received a correspondent account from another quarter, with only this difference, that there is said to have been forty instead of twenty five sail in the Sound. I am assured by the Gentlemen, who are charged with procuring intelligence in the Jerseys, that the English fleet were within the hook, the seventh instant.[33]

I doubt not your division is held in readiness to march at any moment. I expect soon some interesting and decisive intelligence which will possibly determine whether any of the troops ought to move immediately Eastward. I am, etc.

P. S. You will please forward the inclosed by express.[34]

[N.Y.H.S.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT

Head Quarters, October 11, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am glad to find by yours of yesterday that Captn. Leavensworth is safe. I hope that the Officer left behind will bring something material. I did not mean to reflect on Colo. Sheldon or his Field Officers, or the Officers of that Regiment in particular for negligence while upon command. I only wished that the Field Officers in general would point out to the Subalterns, who usually go upon patrols, the necessity of being constantly on Horseback or in a situation to mount immediately.

[32] Maj. Ebenezer Gray had written to Gates from Horse Neck, N. Y., that the British Fleet was sailing eastward in Long Island Sound.

[33] This information Washington relayed to Sullivan (October 11), with the additional note that the "weather was then, and has been since, so thick that it could not be discovered whether they had troops on board or how many of them were ships of war." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[34] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

From the nature of the duty they are upon, they should never take up Quarters at any place. Explain this matter to Colo. Sheldon and his Officers and set them right. I am, etc.[35]

INSTRUCTIONS[36] TO CAPTAIN BARTHOLOMEW VON HEER

Head Quarters, October 11, 1778.

The principal Duty of the Corps under your command, while the Army is encamped, is to patrole the Camp and its environs, for the purpose of apprehending Deserters, Marauders, Drunkards, Rioters, Stragglers, and all other Soldiers that may be found violating general orders; likewise all Countrymen or Strangers that may be found near the pickets or in camp, without passes, either from the Quarter master General, the Commissaries General of Forage and Provisions, or some General Officer, and are unable to give a good account of themselves, or from their appearance and manners give room to suspect they are Spies. Even persons who are furnished with passes as required above are to be secured if their stay in camp exceeds a reasonable time for the transaction of their business, and is accompanied by any suspicious circumstances; but in all these cases, the character of the party, and such authentic credentials as he may be possessed of, are to be attended to. As it is impossible to make General Rules which will apply to every particular case that may occur, much must be left to your own discretion; but you will always remember that you are as carefully to avoid laying innocent free Citizens under any unnecessary restraint and inconvenience, on the one hand, as risking any mischief to the Army from ill-placed lenity on the other.

[35] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[36] A partial résumé of the instructions was published in General Orders of this same day, *q. v.*

For the purposes above mentioned, your Corps is to be distributed into a convenient number of parties, with an officer appointed to each. To patrole the Camp and its vicinity in front and rear, for a certain distance beyond the pickets, according to the situation of the Enemy, at different hours by day and sometimes at night; carefully avoiding any fixed time for making the rounds; that they may be as unforeseen as possible.

As the booths of unlicensed Sutlers, are great Sources of disorder and Riot, you are to confine all such as have not proper permission to suttle agreeable to General Orders of[37]

For your direction in this point, it will be necessary for you to keep a regular list of the licensed Sutlers. You are likewise when the Army arrives at a new encamping ground, to give notice to such housekeepers as sell liquors, either to obtain the Quarter master Generals license, or discontinue the Sale of their Liquor, and in case of their neglect, to seize and report it to the Commissary General.

On a day of march . . .[38]

On a day of action, you are to post yourself in the rear of the second line or reserve, and to send patroles on the roads to the right and left, in order to rally and collect all fugitives, 'till a superior officer arrives to take command of them.

You are not to omit having a Copy of General Orders each day, and it will be proper that you should take extracts at the orderly Office; of all former standing orders, that may serve more minutely to point out the offences which fall under your cognisance.

You are not to apprehend any offenders that are within the encampment of their own Regiment, as they in that case will

[37] Apr. 16, 1778.

[38] The paragraph here omitted is virtually the same as that in the General Orders of this same day, *q. v.*

be within the Jurisdiction of their own Quarter Guard; but all offenders that may be found in the encampment of a Regiment to which they do not belong, or in the purlieus of Camp out of the reach of their own quarter guards, fall under your notice.

The persons you apprehend, are not to be ill treated by words or actions, unless they attempt to escape, or make resistance; in which case should your own force prove inadequate, you are authorised to call for assistance from the troops nearest you; but otherwise they are to be conducted peaceably and committed to the provost Guard which will be quartered near you for this purpose, and be under your command.

You are every morning to deliver in a written Report of the prisoners confined the preceding day, with the charges against them, to the Adjutant General; and you are to consider yourself as being under his immediate command.

The Executioners &ca. are to remain with the provost Guard, and a detachment of the Marechausse will attend the prisoner to the Place of Punishment.

P. S. In order that it may be clearly understood who are Stragglers from Camp, You will remember that all Soldiers found beyond the nearest Pickets in front and on the Flanks; and beyond the extent of one mile estimated from the center of the Encampment in the Rear, without furloughs in the usual form, or proper passes, are to be treated as such.

Mem. Names of Strangers to be taken.[39]

To COLONEL WILLIAM MALCOM

Head Quarters, October 12, 1778.

Sir: I have received your Letter of yesterday's date and its several inclosures. No such act of Congress exists as that on which

[39] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

Captn. Carter founds his claim for forage.[40] By Genl. Orders published about a twelvemonth since Captains of Artillery commanding two pieces, or commanding Regiments destitute of field Officers, were allowed forage, the reason in the latter case is obvious, in the former it is drawn from the necessity that might occur in time of action, of posting the pieces at some distance from each other; but besides that the reason on which the privilege is founded, does not subsist in Garrison.

The General Order is not so inflexible as to prevent the operation of orders issued in a detached post, and dictated by particular circumstances, but they are to be regarded as the Rule of Conduct for Officers on Duty there. I therefore approve the decision of the Court. I am etc.

P. S. You are constantly to keep two weeks provision for two thousand men, at your post, an A. Commissary went to you yesterday in order to consult with you upon the means of completing that quantity for the present and keeping it constantly supplied. The Sentences given in the Case of Pendleton and Painter are confirmed.[41]

To REVEREND ALEXANDER McWHORTER[42]

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 12, 1778.

Sir: There are now under sentence of death, in the provost, a Farnsworth and Blair, convicted of being spies from the enemy, and of publishing counterfeit Continental currency. It is hardly to be doubted but that these unfortunate men are acquainted with many facts respecting the enemys affairs, and

[40] Capt. John Champe Carter, of the First Continental Artillery, had caused the arrest and court-martial of a quartermaster for refusing to furnish forage for his riding horse. The court exonerated the quartermaster.

[41] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

[42] Chaplain of the Artillery brigade.

their intentions which we have not been able to bring them to acknowlege. Besides the humanity of affording them the benefit of your profession, it may in the conduct of a man of sense answer another valuable purpose. And while it serves to prepare them for the other world, it will naturally lead to the intelligence we want in your inquiries into the condition of their spiritual concerns. You will therefore be pleased to take the charge of this matter upon yourself, and when you have collected in the course of your attendance such information as they can give, you will transmit the whole to me. I am etc.[43]

To COMTE D'ESTAING

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 13, 1778.

Sir: Inclosed I have the honor to send your Excellency the British account of the late engagement between the two fleets[44] respectively under the command of Monsieur D'orvilliers and Admiral Keppel, contained in a letter from the latter; published by authority, which I have just received from New York. The insipid terms of this letter; the frivolous pretext assigned for not renewing the engagement, the damage confessed to have been received, the considerable number of the killed and wounded announced to the public in the shape of an official report, which from the customary practice cannot be suspected of exaggeration, and the acknowledged necessity of returning immediately into Port, are circumstances that prove at least the enemy have had no great cause of triumph in this affair.

The departure of the English fleet from New York mentioned in my last is positively contradicted. They were certainly at the Hook the 9th. instant. The current of intelligence still

[43] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.
[44] Off Ushant.

continues to indicate the intention of sending a detachment to the West Indies; tis said from ten to fifteen regiments. An apprehension of this event occasions numerous desertions among their troops; who have an extreme reluctance to a voyage into that climate. No alteration has taken place in the apparent preparations for an evacuation. With the warmest respect etc.[45]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Frederick'sburgh,
Tuesday, October 13, 1778.

Parole Wyoming. Countersigns Woodbury, Water-bury.

The General Court Martial whereof Col. Patten was appointed President will sit tomorrow morning, nine o'Clock at General St. Clair's quarters.

At a General Court Martial held at West Point, September 28th, 1778, Lieutt. Colo. Burr, President, Elisha Painter, Major of Artificers,[46] was tried for absenting himself from the Garrison and neglect of duty found guilty of the charges exhibited against him and sentenced to be dismissed the service.[2]

At the same Court Captn. Pendleton[47] of Artificers, was tried for neglect of duty; found guilty; but some palliating Circumstances induced the Court only to mulct him half a Month's pay to be appropriated to the use of such Prisoners in the Garrison as do fatigue and draw no Pay.

His Excellency the Commander in Chief approves the foregoing sentences and orders them to take place.

[45] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[46] Maj. Elisha Painter is given also as major of Warner's Additional Continental regiment. Painter appealed his sentence of January, 1777, and was again dismissed Oct. 13, 1778; granted a new trial, Oct. 28, 1778; died while the case was pending. (See General Orders, Oct. 28, 1778, *post.*)

[47] Capt. Daniel Pendleton, of Baldwin's Artillery Artificers. He served to May, 1781.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Frederick'sburgh,
Wednesday, October 14, 1778.

Parole Yarmouth. Countersigns Yale, York.

The General Court Martial whereof Colo. Patten is President will assemble at the Yellow House next below General Nixon's Brigade tomorrow morning, nine oClock precisely.

Captn. John Bankson[48] of the 2nd. Pennsylvania Regiment is appointed Pay Master to the same, vice Captn. Howell[49] resigned.

Lieut. Col. Smith[50] is appointed Member of the General Court Martial whereof Colo. Patten is President vice Lieutt. Colo. Loring.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, near Fredericksburg, October 14, 1778.

Sir: Since I had the Honor of addressing you on the 6th. Inst., by favor of the Marquis Fayette, I received your Letter of the 2d with its Inclosure.

I do myself the honor of transmitting you an Account of the Engagement, between the French and British Fleets on the 27th of July, as published by the British Admiralty Board.[51] I received a printed Copy of it last night from New York, which I have forwarded to His Excellency Count D'Estaing. It is evident from Admiral Kepple's own relation of the affair, that he

[48] Capt. John Bankson. He was transferred to the First Pennsylvania Regiment in January, 1783, and served to November of that year.

[49] Joseph Howell, jr. He resigned Oct. 1, 1778, and served later as Commissioner of United States Army Accounts and acting Paymaster General up to May, 1792.

[50] Lieut. Col. Samuel Smith, of the Fourth Maryland Regiment.

[51] A copy of Keppel's letter of July 30, 1778, is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

was pretty severely handled, notwithstanding he affects in the conclusion to mention that he wished extremely for an Opportunity to renew the Combat, the next day.

We are still in great suspense as to the operations and designs of the Enemy, tho' every practicable measure has been used and is pursuing to come at them. By late and direct accounts, it would seem, that some Troops at least, are certainly going from New York. A few days I think, must open their conduct decisively.

I have had the misfortune to hear, that the Rawleigh Frigate has become a prize to Two British Ships of War, after a long and very gallant resistance. Capt. Barry finding that the Frigate would fall into the Enemy's hands, run her on a shore on Seal Island, to which he escaped in Boats with about Eighty of his Hands and from thence to the Main. It is said he took measures for blowing her up, but was defeated in his purpose by the perfidy of an Under Officer, who concealed himself and remained on Board.[52] I have the honour &c.[53]

To THE MAJOR AND BRIGADIER GENERALS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 14, 1778.

Sir: I have been waiting impatiently for the movements of the enemy to come to an issue that might ascertain their intentions for the Winter, which has hitherto prevented my taking the present step; but the uncertainty in which they still continue involved, and the advanced Season of the year, will no longer

[52] The *Raleigh* fell in with the British 50-gun ship *Experiment* and the *Unicorn* of 29 guns, and on September 27 the British, sailing better in the light airs, commenced action off the Maine coast, in the neighborhood of Penobscot Bay. The engagement lasted from 4 p. m. to about midnight. The British Admiralty reported that the *Raleigh's* first lieutenant and 133 men who got ashore surrendered on summons; but Barry and his 80 men escaped and arrived safely at Boston, overland. The *Raleigh* was hauled off the rocks by the British and taken into their navy.

[53] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

admit of delay in fixing upon a plan for the general disposition of the Army in winter quarters.[54] In determining this, it will readily occur to you that the following particulars are to be considered. The security of the Army itself, its subsistence and accommodation, the protection of the Country, the support of our important posts, the relation which ought to be preserved with the french Fleet should it remain where it is, depending on the degree of probability of a Winter operation against it, and the succour it may derive from the troops under Genl. Sullivan and the Militia of the Country. After a full consideration of these points, and of any other matters requiring attention, you will be pleased to favr. me with your opinion as speedily as possible. The main Questions to be decided are, whether the Army shall be kept in a collected State and where, whether it be distributed into Cantonments and in what manner and places, how soon it shall enter into quarters, and what precautions shall be used in respect to covering provisions and Forage. I am, etc.[55]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ELEAZAR OSWALD[56]

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 14, 1778.

Sir: I received your letter of the 4th. at Fish Kill. On my return to this place, I immediately sent for you, to have some matters explained, concerning which you appear to have

[54] On this same day (October 14) Washington wrote to Gates and Baron De Kalb asking that they, with Generals Poor, Paterson, and Smallwood, meet at headquarters at 10 a. m., Friday, October 16, "to consult upon a proper disposition for the Winter Quarters of the Army under present appearances and circumstances." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[55] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From the text of the letter sent to General Clinton, kindly furnished by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of New York City. The draft, in the writing of Alexander Hamilton, shows that this same letter was sent to Lord Stirling, Baron De Kalb, Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam, and Brig. Gens. James Clinton, William Woodford, and Peter Muhlenberg.

[56] Of the Second Continental Artillery.

adopted an erroneous idea. But to my surprise, I found you were gone to Philadelphia.

You say, you think you have a right to a sight of the report of the board of General officers; on which the plan adopted by the Committee of arrangement was founded and declare your opinion, that both this and the subsequent report of another Board which settled the rank of the field officers of Artillery ought to have been inserted at large in general orders.[57] These papers are neither of them in my possession; but as well as I recollect, they were not only substantially but almost literrally published in the General orders of the ;[58] in the first instance in the shape of a report of the Committee in the last with scarcely any change of form. But if you have any scruples on the subject, you can easily remove them by applying to the Committee of arrangement who have the original papers, and who, I dare say, will readily communicate them.

It is not for me to enter into the merits of the principles on which the decision you complain of was founded. It is only to be lamented, that no mode which can be invented to adjust competitions about rank will satisfy all the parties. But unless decisions once formed be adhered to there will never be any thing but confusion and discontent in the army. I must always regret, when a good officer leaves the service; but as you are determined to do it, I shall not refuse to accept your resignation.

You are acquainted with the forms used upon these occasions, and that it will be necessary to produce a Certificate of a settlement of accounts and your commission either to be retained or cancelled by an indorsement. I am etc.[59]

[57] The report of the Board of General Officers is dated Sept. 7, 1778, and is in the *Washington Papers*.

[58] See General Orders of Sept. 9, 1778, *ante*.

[59] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To GEORGE MEASAM

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 14, 1778.

Sir: I recd. yours of the 10th. by Major Nicholas[60] and was very glad to hear that so large a quantity of Cloathing had got forward to Springfield. There being but two kinds of Coats and all the Waistcoats and Breeches being alike, will make the issuing infinitely less troublesome than had there been a variety of Uniforms. All that you have now to do is to send them forward with the utmost expedition.[61] As they arrive the Regiments will have orders to draw as many suits as they have Men present, and upon command near Camp. It is to be regretted, that there are no Hats or substitutes for them. I fear if Caps are adopted it will take more leather than we can spare without injuring the manufacture of Shoes, Accoutrements and Harness. The Board of War have given orders for an extensive purchase of Hats if to be procured.

The troops at providence are in good Quarters and I have reason to think are much better clad than those who now are and may probably be in the Field for some time yet. I would therefore have you forward on all the Blankets, for the want of which many of the Men here are almost perished. Major Nicholas informs me that there is some difference in the quality of the Blue and Brown Coats. The Brigades must therefore draw for Colour. I am &ca.[62]

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[60] Maj. Samuel Nicholas.

[61] Measam requested Robert Hanson Harrison to obtain an order from Washington governing the appraisal value of clothing issued over the regular allowance; Washington declined to issue such an order, as the directions of Congress were clear in such a matter. He suggested, however, that disinterested persons join with the deputy clothier in appraising such clothing. Harrison's letter to Measam (Oct. 14, 1778) is in the *Washington Papers*.

[62] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

On October 14 Washington wrote also to Gov. Patrick Henry, by John Parke Custis, in reply to Henry's interposition in the case of Lieut. Elisha White, of the First Virginia Regiment, who had fled from camp after killing a Mr. Green in a duel.

*To ANDREW LEWIS

Fredericksburg in the State of New York,
October 15, 1778.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 8th. of Augt. came safe to my hands, tho delayed in the conveyance. I am very glad that the Board prevailed on you to act as a Commissioner at Fort Pitt, tho I am apprehensive the end designed, so far as an Indian treaty was in view, will not be answered by it; and am sorry that you met with so many disappointments in the beginning, on acct. of the non-attendance of the Gentn. on behalf of Pensylvania &ca.

No Man can be more thoroughly impressed with the necessity of offensive operations against Indians in every kind of rupture with them, than I am; nor can any Man feel more sensibly for General Mc. Intosh than I do, on two Accts., the Public and his own. But ours is a kind of struggle designed I dare say by Providence to try the patience, fortitude and virtue of Men; none therefore that are engaged in it, will suffer themselves, I trust, to sink under difficulties, or be discouraged by hardships. General Mc. Intosh is only experiencing upon a small Scale, what I have had an ample share of upon a large one; and must, as I have been obliged to do in a variety of Instances, yield to necessity; that is, to use a vulgar Phraze, shape his Coat according to his Cloth,[63] or in other Words if he cannot do as he wishes, he must do what he can.

If the Enemy mean to hold their present Posts in the United states the presumption is, that their operations next Campaign

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He wished to return to the Army without the stigma of desertion. The Commander in Chief was willing to ignore the matter if Green's friends did not prosecute. He suggested that Col. John Green, of the Fourteenth Virginia Regiment, be sounded out by White. According to Heitman, the Army records show that White was dropped from the rolls for absence in May, 1778, and did not reenter the service.

[63] Washington first wrote this word "Cloath" and, afterward, crossed out the "a."

will be vigorous and decisive because feeble efforts can be of no avail unless by a want of Virtue we ruin and defeat ourselves; which, I think, is infinitely more to be dreaded than the whole force of G. Britain, assisted as they are by Hessian, Indian, and Negro Allies; for certain I am, that unless Extortion, forestalling, and other practices which have crept in and become exceedingly prevalent and injurious to the common cause, can meet with proper checks, we must inevitably sink under such a load of accumulated oppression. To make and extort money in every shape that can be devised, and at the same time to decry its value seems to have become a mere business and an epedemical disease, calling for the interposition of every good Man, and body of Men.

We have, for more than a Month, been kept in an awkward state of Suspence on Acct. of the Enemy's preparations for Imbarking at New York. Many circumstances indicate a total evacuation of that City and its dependancies; others tend more to prove that it is only a partial one. Some time ago I inclined to the former opinion, at present I lean more to the latter. Certain it is, they are about to detach Troops; and, I believe to the West Indies; but the weight of evidence, in my judgment, is on the side of their Garrisoning New York and Rhode Island this Winter, at least; in this case it would appear clear to you (if you knew the Circumstances of the Army) that no aid, or very trifling, can go from hence to Genl. Mc. Intosh; but I should think that the Frontiers of Virginia, Maryland and Pensylvania could furnish Men fully competent to an Expedition to Detroit and of such kind as the Service required. Two very common errors, should be avoided in getting them (if Militia), namely not to draw the Men together till every thing else is prepared; and next not to engage them for too short a time. For Militia are soon tired of waiting and will return at the expiration of their

term of Service if they were upon the eve, certainly, of reaping the most important advantages.

If Congress are not convinced of the impropriety of a certain irregular promotion, they are the only sett of Men who require further and greater proofs than have already been given of the fallibility of the measure.[64]

Before I conclude, let me ask if we have any prospect of getting Lands which have been Surveyed, and located, under the Proclamation of 1763, but which might not have been Patented. this is the case with some that I had in my own right, and by purchase; having had no leizure, even in thought, to attend to the matter for near four years, it would be rather hard upon me therefore, under these circumstances, to be a looser, or put to difficulty to get my right. Was I not concerned with you in the burning Spring?[65] Is the Land Patented? and secured? With sincere regard etc.

To THE MAGISTRATES AND SELECTMEN OF NORWALK

Head Quarters, October 15, 1778.

Gentlemen: I this morning received your application,[66] and I can assure, that I am sorry any individual of the army should have violated the rights of a citizen, or that an officer should insult the authority of the State in an instance where it seems to have been particularly concerned.

But that this matter may be brought to a legal issue, I inclose you a letter to General Scott who commands near Bedford,

[64] On Feb. 19, 1777, Congress appointed five major generals, all of whom superseded Lewis and Benedict Arnold. Lewis resigned.

[65] Burning Spring was near what is now Charleston, W. Va.

[66] The application from the magistrates of Norwalk, Conn., is dated Oct. 13, 1778, and is in the *Washington Papers*.

directing him to deliver over to any civil officer the soldier which you had in arrest. I have also ordered Capt. Stoddard[67] to this place that his conduct may be inquired into; you will send the evidence against him here. I am, etc.[68]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT

October 15, 1778.

Sir: The magistrates and selectmen of Norwalk have entered a complaint against two privates of Capt. Stoddards company, for violences offered to one of the inhabitants, and for the rescue of Gershom Dorman by Capt. Stoddard, whom a constable had in arrest. You will be pleased to deliver to the civil authority of the State, the said Gershom Dorman of Capt. Stoddards Company and direct Capt. Stoddard himself to this place to explain his conduct in this affair, with such evidences as he may think necessary.

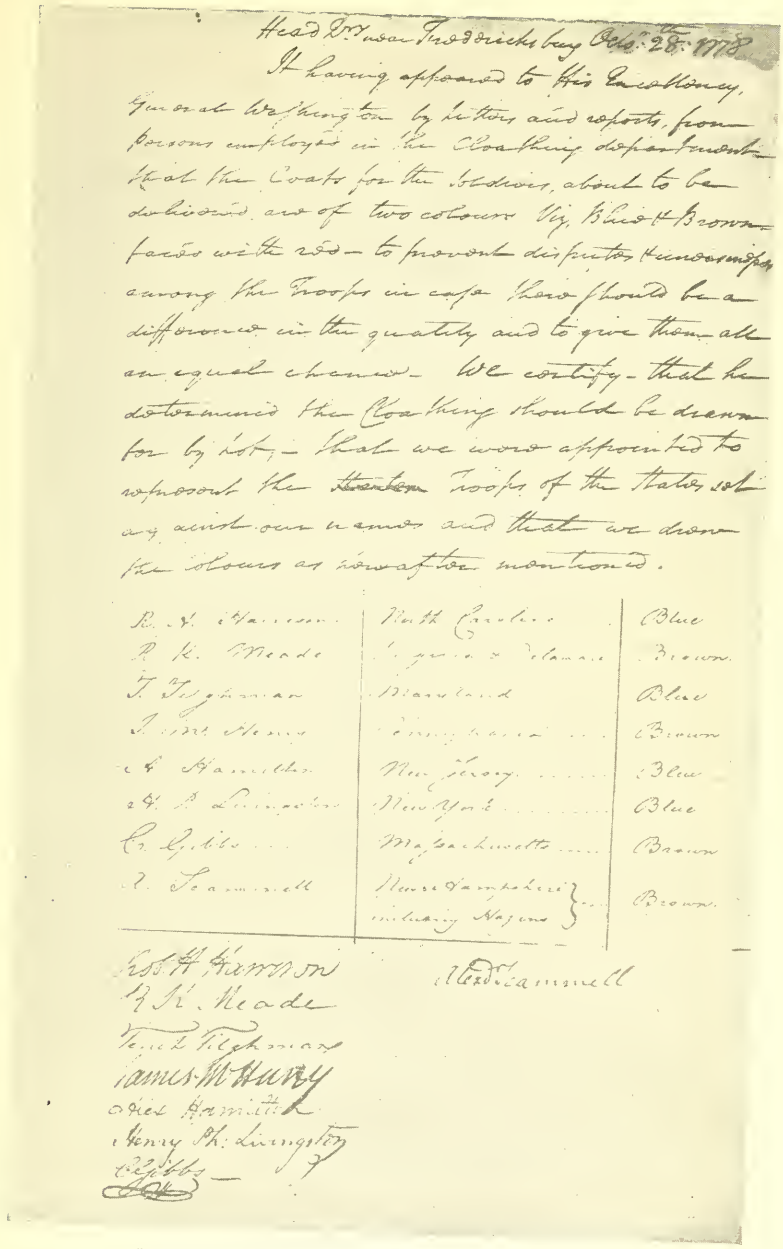
This letter will be delivered you by some of the civil officers of Norwalk. I am &ca.[68]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL PETER MUHLENBERG

Head Quarters, October 15, 1778.

Sir: His Excellency desires me to communicate to you his determination with respect to furloughing Officers; you must be sensible the numberless applications that will occur during this Winter renders it necessary that some general regulation should take place, and you are requested to make it known to the commanding officers of the two other Brigades, which will

[67] Capt. Josiah Stoddard, of the Second Continental Dragoons.
[68] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.



Head Dr. near Fredericksburg Octo. 28th 1778

It having appeared to His Excellency, General Washington by letters and reports, from persons employed in the Cloathing department that the Coats for the Soldiers, about to be delivered are of two colours Viz, Blue & Brown faced with red — to prevent disputes & uneasiness among the Troops in case there should be a difference in the quality and to give them all an equal chance — We certify — that he determined the Cloathing should be drawn for by Lot; — that we were appointed to represent the ~~Staten~~ Troops of the States set against our names and that we drew the colours as hereafter mentioned.

R. H. Harrison	North Carolina	Blue
R. K. Meade	Virginia & Delaware	Brown
T. Tilghman	Maryland	Blue
J. McHenry	Pennsylvania	Brown
A. Hamilton	New Jersey	Blue
H. P. Livingston	New York	Blue
C. Gibbs	Massachusetts	Brown
A. Scammell	New Hampshire } including Hazens }	Brown

Chas. H. Harrison
R. K. Meade
Tench Tilghman
James McHenry
Alex Hamilton
Henry Ph. Livingston
C. Gibbs

Alexd. Scammell

Lottery Drawing for Uniforms, October 28, 1778

prevent unnecessary applications, that he is determined that two field officers to a Regiment, and the same number of officers to each Company unless in very extraordinary cases shall be present, and that those who are to be absent must be decided among the officers themselves that no discontent may prevail. The furloughs are all to be granted from the adjutant Generals office by an order from Head Quarters and to effect this the more properly the Commanding officer of each Brigade when an application is made by an officer in it, will give him a certificate agreeable to the above regulation. Major Cabells pretentions to go home are surely equal to any Gentleman's, and will no doubt be attended to, many others have apply'd who will be gratified under this general rule. Lieutt. Overton has permission to proceed on the business proposed by Colo. Ball. I am etc.

P. S. His Excellency also desires that the Brigade Majors may keep accurate accounts of the absent Officers.[69]

To LORD STIRLING, BRIGADIER GENERALS WILLIAM MAXWELL AND PETER MUHLENBERG

Head Quarters, October 15, 1778.

In addition to the questions already proposed for the consideration of the General Officers,[70] I have further asked, whether judging from the present State and appearance of affairs, it would be advisable to detach any part of the Army to Boston and should it be determined in the affirmative; What force it would be proper to detach there. You will be pleased to favor me with your opinion on these subjects. I am, etc.[71]

[69] The draft is in the writing of and is signed "R. K. Meade, A. D. Camp."

[70] See Washington's letter To the Major and Brigadier Generals, Oct. 14, 1778, *ante*.

[71] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry and indorsed by him: "Addit. Questns. for the Council of War." (See Council of War, Oct. 16, 1778, *post*.)

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Frederick'sburgh,
Thursday, October 15, 1778.

Parole Antwerp. Countersigns Argos, Attleborough.

A Court of Enquiry whereof Lieutt. Colo. Carrington is appointed President will sit at one oClock this afternoon at the President's quarters to enquire into a complaint exhibited by Charles Proud, a soldier in the Artillery against Captain Wiley.[72]

Two Captains from each of the Connecticutt Brigades to attend as Members.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Frederick'sburgh, October 16, 1778.

Parole Woolwich. Countersigns Wooburn, Witney.

Tomorrow being the glorious Anniversary of the surrender of General Burgoyne and his troops to the Arms of *America,* under the Command of Major General Gates, it will be commemorated by the discharge of thirteen Cannon from the Park of Artillery at twelve o'Clock.

No more sick to be sent to the hospital at Quaker Hill without first enquiring of the Chief Surgeon there whether they can be received, as the house is already full. At a General Court Martial whereof Colo. Hogan[73] was President held at West Point, October 11th. 1778, Lieut. Chandenit, A. D. Q. M. G., was tried for refusing to sign an order for Forage sent him by Captain Carter and acquitted. The Commander in Chief approves the sentence. Lieutt. William Henshaw of the 5th. Connecticutt Regiment is appointed Pay Master to the same from the 1st of September last.[74]

[72] Capt. John Wiley, of the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment.
[73] Col. James Hogun, of the Third North Carolina Regiment.
[74] Henshaw served as paymaster until January, 1781. He retired in January, 1783.

COUNCIL OF WAR[75]

Fredericksburgh, October 16, 1778.

The Commander in Chief informs the Council, that the enemy's whole force in these States still continue in two principal divisions one at New York and its dependencies consisting of about thirteen thousand; the other on Rhode Island consisting of about five thousand. That a considerable detachment from the former sent three or four weeks since into Bergen county, in the Jerseys, have hitherto been employed in a forage, part are said to have lately returned and the remainder it is given out, intend to cut a quantity of wood before they leave the Jerseys.

That their fleet was still in the harbour of New York the 9th instant, rumoured to intend shortly sailing for Boston.

That the general current of intelligence from New York indicates preparations *to be in readiness* to leave that post, and more particularly a design of making a considerable detachment, generally supposed for the West Indies, the number mentioned from ten to fifteen regiments, which are reported to have been filled up, by the reduction of some other regiments. That an officer of ours, prisoner with the enemy, just exchanged brings an account of the actual embarkation of a large body of troops, on Saturday night and Sunday last, said to be destined for the Southward, of which however, no confirmation has been received from any other quarter.

That our whole force in this quarter is about fifteen thousand rank and file, fit for duty; including the two brigades in the Jerseys, and the garrison at West Point, a considerable part

[75] This Council of War was composed of the Commander in Chief, Maj. Gens. Horatio Gates, Nathanael Greene, Baron De Kalb, Alexander McDougall, and Baron Steuben; Brig. Gens. John Nixon, Samuel Holden Parsons, William Smallwood, Henry Knox, John Paterson, Anthony Wayne, and Edward Hand.

of which have completed and will soon complete the term of service, for which they are engaged.

That General Sullivan has under his command at Providence and its dependencies about 3500 Continental and State troops.

From this state of facts and under these circumstances, the Commander in Chief requests the opinion of the Council, whether it will be prudent and adviseable to make a detachment from the main army towards Boston, and of what force.

He further informs the Council, that he has been impatiently waiting for the movements of the enemy to ascertain their intentions for the Winter, in order to enable him the better to judge of a proper disposition of the army in Winter quarters; but the uncertainty, in which their designs still continue involved and the advanced season of the year, will no longer admit of delay, in fixing upon a plan for this important purpose. He therefore requests the advice of the council on the following points: whether the army shall be held in a collected state during the Winter and where? whether it shall be distributed into cantonments and in what particular manner? what precautions shall be adopted in either case to shelter the troops and procure subsistance both of provision and forage?

He observes: That in determining these questions, the considerations principally to be attended to are, the actual strength and situation and the probable designs of the enemy; the security, good government and discipline of the army; the difficulties of subsistance and accommodation; the protection of the country; the support of our important posts; the relation proper to be preserved with the French, [fleet][76] considering the degree of probability of its remaining where it now is, and of a winter operation against it, and the occasional succour it

[76]The word "fleet" was inadvertently omitted here.

may derive from the troops under General Sullivan and from the Militia of the Country.[77]

He finally informs the Council that some time since, he directed the Quarter Master General to endeavour to provide materials for barracks. The result of his measures will appear in a letter from Mr. Pettit hereunto annexed.[78]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 16, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am favd. with yours of the 15th. containing the disagreeable account of the further ravages committed by the Indians. I will immediately order one Regiment to be held ready for the frontier service, and if, upon making a general arrangement of the Army, I find that more can be spared, I will make an addition to the number. As I am unacquainted with the direction of Anaquaga,[79] I shall be obliged by your Excellency's informing me immediately by Express to what place the troops from hence shall march, in order to meet and cooperate with those already to the Northward. Colo Butler marched the begining of this month with an intent to strike some of the places of rendezvous of the enemy upon the North West frontier. I have not heard whether he has had any success; but by a letter

[77] Most of the opinions, in answer to these queries, were submitted in writing to the Commander in Chief on October 20 and are in the *Washington Papers*.

[78] Deputy Quartermaster General Charles Pettit's letter of October 16 to Alexander Hamilton accompanies this record of the Council of War, in the *Washington Papers*, which is in Hamilton's writing. A copy by Tench Tilghman, which varies slightly from the above, is also in the *Washington Papers*, and another copy by Tilghman is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[79] Anaquaga (Onoquaga, Oquaga, Unaquaga), N. Y. Clinton's reply (October 17) stated that Anaquaga was on the Susquehanna nearly west of Kingston, in Ulster County. There were practicable routes from Minisink, Rochester (in Ulster County), and Kingston, but the best was from Schoharie. This was the route taken by Col. William Butler. Clinton's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

from General Stark I find that the Oneida's had destroyed the settlement of Unadilla and Butter Nuts and brought off some prisoners. I shall be guided by your better Judgment in the directions to be given to the Officer who will command this expedition, and I shall therefore be glad to have your advice in the fullest manner, as to the Route, the proper places to lodge supplies, the easiest method of procuring them and any other matters which you may judge necessary for the execution of the plan. I am &c.[80]

To COMTE D'ESTAING

Head Quarters, October 16, 1778.

Sir: I have just received intelligence that on the nights of the 10th. and 11th. inst a considerable body of troops embarked at New York; the most accurate accounts that we have been able to obtain of their numbers make them consist of ten Regiments with their flank Companies, completed by drafts to the full establishment, which will make them amount to between five and six thousand men; some however pretend that five and other that seven brigades have embarked. Although I am clearly satisfied in my own mind that these troops are destined for the West Indies, and repeated intelligence corroborated by the reason of the thing, almost removes the suspicion of any enterprise being meditated at this late Season, against Your Excellency's Squadron it is an object too precious to the common cause, for me not to give Your Excellency immediate notice of a movement which might by the most remote possibility affect it; and take such measures for counteracting the success, as the other considerations by which Your Excellency knows my conduct must be regulated, will allow. I have therefore ordered a detachment

[80] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

of troops to proceed by gentle marches as far as the Connecticut River, that it may be so far on its way, should occasion require. the utmost vigilance will be used to ascertain the time when the transports, with the troops in question shall put to Sea; their numbers; the convoy attending them and every other interesting particular. there are circumstances which induce a belief of the enemy's intention to maintain a Garrison in New York after sending a sufficient detachment to their islands; such are, the superior advantages which this post and its dependencies possess for the security and support of a body of troops, the convenience of the port for distressing our Trade and the excellence of the general situation for carrying on that kind of predatory and desultory war, with which they seem to threaten us.

The judicious reflexions which Your Excellency has done me the honor to communicate in your letter of the 29th. Ulto. and the conjectures founded on them, favor in part the idea of an offensive operation by the English in the West Indies; their Success must depend upon a naval superiority in those Seas.

Your Excellency's reasoning on Admiral Gambier's being appointed to the chief command on the American Station is conclusive and gives room to surmise that Admiral Biron is destined for the W. Indies. The ill health of the latters crews is a circumstance that may be depended upon; the report of their laboring under a contageous disorder is without foundation: Many of the Sailors have deserted to our outposts, and among them some convalescents who report that the rest are recovering very fast.

I am happy to be informed that Your Excellency has found a satisfactory method for exchanging the bulk of your prisoners; every thing in my power shall be done for the expeditious forwarding of the rest to New York and negotiating their exchange agreeably to the terms of the convention, which you are to communicate.

The Marquis de la fayette is gone to pay a visit to Congress; the relation in which he stands to Your Excellency, made me happy during his Stay in camp by furnishing me with more particular occasions for expressing the Sentiments of respect with which Your Excellency has inspired me.

Mr. de Choin whose flattering remembrance of me you are so obliging as to mention in your letter of the 2d. inst. if he had obtained Your Excellency's permission to return would likewise have furnished me with such desirable opportunities; but the regret for my own loss is much diminished, when I consider the enviable happiness the Major enjoys near your Excellency and the satisfaction you derive from the company of this worthy officer.

I have already had the honor of transmitting to Your Excellency Admiral Keppel's own Account of the Naval Combat, which has all the complexion of a defeat on his part, tho his affairs were not so desperate as those of your antagonist Lord Howe who is said to have kept himself for security, on board a Swift Sailing Frigate, when you gave him chase.

If the report that Channel pilots are engaged for the use of the Spanish Fleet be well grounded, the natural inference as Your Excellency observes is very favorable.

I congratulate with Your Excellency on the prospect of Mr. Du Chaffau's[81] Recovery. The present I think promises fair to be the æra when the valor of the French Marine will be rewarded. The English can boast but few Ships that have not been chased by the French, their European Fleet and American Squadron have undergone the same disgrace. I have the honor etc.

P. S. I have the honor to inclose your Excellency the last effort of the British Commissioners in proclamation. It will

[81] Louis Charles, Comte du Chaffault de Besné, lieutenant-general in command of the rear guard off Ushant, in which action he was wounded.

share the same fate of the rest. I likewise inclose you the petition[82] of the Tories in New York.[83]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

October 17, 1778.

Dear Sir: Captains Gawen Brown and John Langdon and Lieut. William Davis of Colo. Henry Jacksons Regiment[84] have requested to resign their Commissions and have lodged Certificates, that they are not indebted to the public. You will be pleased to call for their Commissions and to give discharges upon them. And as there are frequent applications by the Officers, employed at the Eastward, of the same nature, and considerable time is spent in writing to and from Head Quarters upon the subject, you will upon future occasions, give discharges yourself *upon the Commissions* and transmit me an account of the same from time to time that they may be properly registered and forwarded to the Board of War.

The Enemy, who were in Jersey, for several days past, have returned to New York again, and by advices received Yesterday, I believe it is certain, that a considerable detachment, consisting of Ten full Regiments at least, is embarking. Their destination is not certainly known; but the current reports of Deserters and other intelligence from York say they are going to the West Indies. There are some accounts too, which say that

[82] The petition was from the refugees to the Peace Commissioners, and had been sent to Washington by Brig. Gen. Charles Scott.

[83] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

On October 16 Washington wrote brief notes: To Brig. Gen. Charles Scott, stressing the great need of obtaining intelligence of the enemy as often as possible, and that Captain Leavenworth's slowness in this made him of little value; to Marquis de Vienne, informing him that Congress had granted him leave to return to France; to Maj. Henry Lee, that Capt. William Lindsay's resignation from Lee's Dragoons would be accepted; to Capt. Pierre Capitaine, an aide to Lafayette, thanking him for two plans, presumably of the operations on Rhode Island in 1778. All of these notes are in the *Washington Papers*.

[84] Jackson's Additional Continental regiment.

Charles Town is their Object. However, as it is possible that they may meditate a stroke against Boston, notwithstanding all reasoning seems against it, I mean to put a Detachment from the Army in motion, which will advance Eastward, as far as Connecticut River, till we are ascertained of their views. I am, etc.

P. S. The Inclosed Letter for the Marquiss Devieune you will be pleased to deliver him as soon as you can. The Officers of Jackson's Regiment mentioned above, are probably at Boston.[85]

[MS. H. S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 17, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have recd. your favr. of the 6th. and 11th. instant. The enemy have withdrawn themselves from Jersey and are now employed in making a very considerable embarkation. It is said to consist of ten British Regiments . . .[86] to be prepared, should their views be upon Boston, I shall immediately order a detachment to move slowly Eastward, as far as Connecticut River. I expect your next will inform me, what appears to be the intention of sending the transports lately to Newport. I am &ca.

P. S. Yours of the 14th. is just come to hand. Sir Henry Clinton was kind enough to forward me the offers of Grace and pardon[87] some days ago. I made no scruple of communicating the Contents to the Officers of the Army, as I was sure they could have no ill effects at this time of day. I will not pretend to direct the line of conduct to be pursued by the Civil powers.

Be pleased to signify to Lt. Colo. Smith[88] that the Resignation of Lt. Jeremiah Reed of the Regt. under his command is

[85] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[86] The omitted portion is practically the same as the information, respecting the embarkation of 10 regiments, in Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Oct. 18, 1778, *q. v.*

[87] The Manifesto and Proclamation of the British peace commissioners of Oct. 3, 1778.

[88] Lieut. Col. William Stephens Smith, commanding Lee's Additional Continental regiment.

accepted from the 26th. Sept. 1778 and that of Capt. Joshua Orne from the 1st. October 1778. Their discharges are to be indorsed upon their Commissions, provided they have settled their Accounts with the public and Regt.[89]

To LORD STIRLING

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 17, 1778.

My Lord: I have received your favours of the 14 and 15th. instants. I have undoubted intelligence, that a very considerable embarkation is making from New York. It is of the utmost importance that we should ascertain the numbers as near as possible, their destination the time of their sailing and above all how they are convoyed as to numbers and force of ships of War. Upon this, and a certain account of what ships of War remain in New York the Count D'Estaing will probably form his plan of Operations. I therefore intreat your Lordship to leave no means untried to come at a knowlege of these facts. I would not wish you to take up any vague reports, because I shall forward your intelligence to the Count. You may always distinguish in your letters between what you think may be depended upon, and what is dubious.

If an Officer acquainted with marine Affairs was stationed at Bonum Town he wou'd have an opportunity of seeing every thing going in or out of the Hook and could give intelligence of the time of the fleets sailing; endeavouring to distinguish the men of war from the transports. Major Howell will have a better opportunity of counting the exact number from his Station at Black point. Be pleased to give him notice that a fleet is upon the point of sailing, desire him to be attentive and inform him of the importance of being particular, and expeditious in communicating his intelligence.

[89] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

I do not intend that Woodfords Brigade shall remain at New Ark, longer than untill the views of the enemy are more fully known. This will in all probability be very shortly. I would not therefore have them order down more of their Baggage than is absolutely necessary. As the enemy have retired, a small escort from the Brigade will serve to convoy the Baggage, who may carry down the field Artillery at the same time. I am &ca.[90]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON

[October 17, 1778.]

Sir: I have determined to send Col. Van Schaick's Regiment to Fort Schuyler to relieve Col. Ganseworth.[91] You will signify this to Col. Van Schaick that he may be preparing for it. So soon as the Cloathing, expected in camp, arrives; he shall have an order for a competent supply and will then proceed. He can mention the matter to Col. Hay, who will be looking forward to a provision of vessels to convey the regiment to Albany.

It is also my intention to send Col. Cortlandt[92] on an expedition to the Frontier. This regiment will proceed immediately to Poughkeppsie; and he himself will go on before, to consult Governor Clinton. I have written to him on the subject. I am etc.[93]

To COLONEL PHILIP VAN CORTLANDT

Head Quarters, October 17, 1778.

Sir: As your Regiment is to be employed in an expedition against Anaquaga, you are immediately to give the necessary

[90] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[91] Col. Peter Gansevoort, of the Third New York Regiment, He was thanked by Congress Oct. 7, 1777, for his gallant defense of Fort Schuyler; was made brigadier general, New York Militia in March, 1781; served to close of the war.

[92] Col. Philip Van Cortlandt, of the Second New York Regiment.

[93] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

orders, to the Officer next in command, for proceeding with your Regiment to Poughkeepsie, by water, and apply to Col. Hay the Q. M. who will provide boats for the purpose; in the mean time, dispatch a careful officer to Head Quarters with an accurate Return of your whole Regiment exclusive of drafts, in conformity to which he will receive an order for the proper number of Regimental Suits and other articles of Equipment, with which he will meet the Regiment at Poughkeepsie.

As soon as your Regiment is put in motion you will repair in person to that place in order to consult with Gov. Clinton and take his advice relative to the disposition of the troops and other measures to be pursued for accomplishing the ends proposed. I am &ca.

P. S. When the men receive their New Clothing, the Regimental Q. M. is to collect the old Coats Waistcoats and breeches, to have them packed, marked and put into Store, and to make an exact Return of them to Hd. Quarters.[94]

To CAPTAIN JOSIAH STODDARD

Head Quarters, October 17, 1778.

Sir: I received your letter of the 15th. Inst. respecting a reprieve for Elisha Smith a deserter from your company. It is far from my inclination to increase the number of unfortunate sufferers, or to sign a warrant which does not appear indispensably necessary for the preservation and safety of the army. Smith has been represented to me, as an object worthy of punishment, and as a proper example to prevent the commission of crimes of a like nature. Indeed I should have been glad of a justifiable foundation of pardon to have obliged you in this instance. I am etc.[95]

[94] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.
[95] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

To COLONEL THEODORICK BLAND

Head Quarters, October 17, 1778.

Dear Sir: As the term of your Regiment's inlistment is nearly expiring, it is time to fall upon some mode to continue the men in the service. Genl. Scott in a letter to me of the 15th. Inst. observes that could they be indulged with leave of absence for the winter, he thinks the greatest number would reenlist.[96] I am not over fond of making a stipulation of this kind could it be avoided, besides it is setting up a pernicious precedent to the Army. I would therefore have every other method tryed, the inducements offered by congress, with the endeavours of those of your officers, whom you perceive to have a more immediate influence over the men. In the mean time you will be pleased to make me a return of those whose times are expiring or may have expired, with your opinion whether the regiment can be reinlisted without having recourse to this expedient. When I receive your report I shall instruct you further on this subject. I am &ca.[97]

To CAPTAIN ASA COBURN[98]

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 17, 1778.

Sir: You will proceed to Springfield and apply to Mr. Measam for the following articles of cloathing, which he is hereby directed to furnish you out of the cloathing at that place.

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[96] "The measure you have mentioned I believe must be put in practice, in case the men cannot be induced to continue in the service by the common means."—*Washington to Brig. Gen. Charles Scott,* Oct. 17, 1778. Washington wrote to Scott this same day also: "You will give orders to your Commissary to supply such small parties of Militia with provision as Genl. Morris may judge necessary for the protection of the Farmers whose Situation renders them liable to be interrupted in their farming business; and you will as far as circumstances will allow second the Militia in this duty; by disposing your patroles as much as is in your power for the Security of the Country people." These letters are in the *Washington Papers.*

[97] In the writing of John Laurens.

[98] Of the Seventh Massachusetts Regiment.

For Col. Aldens Regiment, 300 suits of Uniform, a proportion of Shirts and stockings and 200 blankets and 200 pair of shoes.

For the Regiment under the command of Lieut. Col. Butler, 150 suits of Uniform, a proportion of shirts and stockings and 100 blankets, and 100 pair of shoes.[99]

For the detachment under the command of Major Posey, 80 suits of Uniform, a proportion of shirts and Stockings and 50 Blankets and fifty pair of shoes.

With these you are to proceed with all dispatch to Albany, and deliver the several quantities to their respective regiments; taking proper receipts as vouchers for the delivery; you will have the cloathing packed up in separate parcels and marked for the corps to which they belong.

You will apply to the Quartermaster at Springfield for the means of transportation; and will use the greatest care and diligence in getting the cloathing to the place of its destination. I am etc.[1]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, October 17, 1778.

Sir: I had the honour of writing to your Excellency yesterday, requesting your advice on the proposed expedition against Anaquaga. I have given Col. Cortland orders to get his regiment well clad and prepared without delay, for this purpose, and to wait upon you himself to consult you fully upon the most expeditious mode of proceeding and the previous measures

[99] James McHenry wrote to Butler (October 17), by Washington's direction, that the quantities of clothing mentioned were coming to him and Major Posey. McHenry's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[1] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

proper to be taken.[2] If the troops already to the Northward, and which by my last accounts were marching towards Unadilla, [under the Comd. of Lt. Colo. Butlar] can form a junction with this regiment in time [and with a proper degree of safety] it will be a desirable circumstance. I shall be glad of your opinion on this point and at what place the junction could be most safely and conveniently formed. If this cannot be done, they may possibly still co-operate and form a diversion favourable to the enterprise against Anaquaga, by directing a stroke upon some other quarter; on this point also I request your Excellency's sentiments.

You will no doubt, give directions in time to have the Militia, who are to assist in this business, ready, and will appoint a place of rendezvous where they will join the Continental troops I must beg the favour of you to concert with Colo. Cortlandt the necessary arrangements for providing the supplies of provisions, which will be wanted, the proper repositories, the means of transportation and such other matters as will occur to you upon the subject and measures shall be immediately taken accordingly.

I fear the articles of cloathing may be the occasion of some delay with respect to the troops already to the Northward; their distressed situation and the approaching cold season, make a supply indispensible in an expedition of this nature. I have ordered cloathing for them to be forwarded with all dispatch from Springfield to Albany; but before it can reach them a great deal of time must unavoidably be lost.

[2] Washington wrote again to Governor Clinton (October 18) repeating this information and promising an inquiry into Ezra L'Hommedieu's complaint to Clinton that Captain Leavenworth had plundered inhabitants of the east end of Long Island of their horses and cattle. L'Hommedieu's letter to Clinton, of Oct. 16, 1778, and Washington's letter to Clinton, of Oct. 18, 1778, are in the *Washington Papers*.

Col. Van Shaicks regiment will shortly set out, to relieve the Garrison at Fort Schuyler; if this Regiment could be employed on the expedition and in time to answer this other purpose, it would be manifestly advantageous. If this cannot be the case, can any use be made of Gansevoort's regiment after it is relieved?

I am sorry to give you so much trouble in this affair; but your superior knowledge of the frontier and of the country in general [and the means you have at present of information] will plead my excuse. I have the honor etc.[3]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 18, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have just recd. intelligence, bearing strong marks of authenticity, that the enemy mean a total and immediate evacuation of New York. Various are the conjectures of their destination. I cannot think that they mean to attempt any thing against Boston, considering the danger of carrying a large fleet round Cape Cod at this advanced season; but to be prepared at all events, I had, upon the first intimation of an embarkation, ordered two of the Brigades stationed at Danbury to move Eastward as for as Harford;[4] I shall now order the third to follow. By the time they arrive there we shall probably come at a knowledge of the real intentions of the Enemy. I have communicated all my intelligence in the fullest manner, to the Count D'Estaing, that he may make such preparations as circumstances seem to require. I am etc.

P. S. Your favr. of the 12th has come to hand.[5] [MS. H. S.]

[3] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The parts in brackets were added by Washington.

[4] Hartford, Conn.

[5] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. Sparks prints this letter under date of Oct. 10, 1778. The same letter, minus the postscript, was sent to Maj. Gen. John Sullivan.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 18, 1778.

Sir: With the Money you have drawn from the Pay Master General you will use your best endeavours to inlist the Drafts from the State of New York to serve for three Years or during the War.

To facilitate the inlistments you will put the Money into the hands of such Officers as you may judge proper for the occasion.

Each draft inlisting for three years or during the War is to be paid a bounty of twenty dollars. Besides this he will receive the usual allowance of Cloathing and Land.[6]

Where the inlistment is for three years it is to commence from the expirations of the time of service for which the party inlisting stands now engaged.

You or the Officers appointed by you are not to inlist the drafts of any States but your own.

The names of the Men who inlist, the times when and the terms for which they engage whether for three years or during the War are all to be particularly noted and set down, that there may not be any disputes or mistakes respecting the same. I am, etc.[7]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 18, 1778.

Sir: I imagine General Poors Brigade is by this time in motion agreeable to the determination of the Council on Friday. I

[6] By the resolve of Congress of Sept. 16, 1776, officers were granted quantities of land, according to rank, on entering the service and privates and noncommissioned officers were granted 100 acres on enlisting, and a bounty of $20. By a resolve of Oct. 8, 1776, certain quantities of clothing were granted.

[7] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From the text kindly furnished by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of New York City.

desire that the next Brigade in course may follow, with directions to the commanding Officers to proceed by very slow marches to Harford, where they are to halt for further orders. Be pleased to impress upon the Officers the necessity of keeping up the strictest discipline upon the march. As they will not be in the least hurried their Commissaries and Quarter Masters may make every necessary preparation for their accommodation upon the road, particularly in the article of Wood, to prevent destruction of the inclosures.

Should there be a necessity for their proceeding to Boston, be pleased to give the Officers the following Route, by which they are to march upon rect. of their orders. From Harford to Boston, East side of the River, thro' Coventry. Mansfield, Ashford, Pomfret, Thompson, Douglass, Uxbridge, Mindens, Hollston, Medway, Medfield, Dedham, Boston; the distance 105 Miles.

My latest accounts from the enemy are that they are still busily employed in their embarkation, but I cannot learn with certainty that it is to be general; Altho' many of the inhabitants near the lines, and persons from the City think it is. I am etc.[8]

[N.Y.H.S.]

To BARON DE KALB

October 18, 1778.

Sir: I have been favoured with your letter of the 14th. Instant. The undecided state of rank in the Maryland line makes it a point of some difficulty to determine in such cases as that of Major Adams[9] and Capt. Winders,[10] where the complaint is

[8] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[9] Maj. Daniel Jenifer Adams, of the Seventh Maryland Regiment. He had obtained his majority in December, 1776; resigned in June, 1779.

[10] Capt. Levin Winder, of the First Maryland Regiment. He had been promoted to major in April, 1776; was wounded and taken prisoner at Camden, S. C., in August, 1780; transferred to the Fourth Maryland Regiment in January, 1781; promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Fifth Maryland Regiment in April, 1781; transferred to the First Maryland Regiment in January, 1783; served to April of that year.

founded on their respective claims to a precedency in rank. I think it most expedient therefore that Capt. Winder should be released from arrest, as you have mentioned, and to suspend the further consideration of the matter, till such time as the relative rank of the whole line is finally determined. For this purpose, I have taken every measure that can lead to its accomplishment. You will be pleased to signify this to Major Adams and that the affair cannot be investigated before a general settlement of rank is obtained, as the issue of the case is manifestly involved in its determination. I am &ca.

P. S. As there may be a number of other officers in a similar situation with Major Adams and Capt. Windar, I do not doubt but you will so arrange their several duties, without any prejudice to the service, as to prevent their clashing with each other or giving ries to disputes of the same nature.[11]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT

Head Quarters, October 18, 1778.

Sir: I have received your two letters of yesterday's date; intelligence becomes more interesting as every day brings us nearer to an important juncture; too much attention therefore cannot be paid to the choice of persons employed in collecting advices of the enemys transactions and designs, and to the directions given them for governing their inquiries; an enemy is always supposed to be secret as to their real intentions, and may generally be suspected of a view to deceive, when they speak openly of them; but there are some circumstances which attend every considerable move, or expedition which cannot always be

[11] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

concealed, and which by being compared together and combined may almost infallibly point out the enemy's true design. As it now seems to be ascertained that a considerable embarkation has taken place, many concomitant circumstances may satisfy us as to the destination of the Ships. Such are, The number and species of Transports, passages taken on board them for Europe or the W. Indies, the Strength of the Convoy, the quantity of Provisions, Water &ca. said to be taken on board, the quantity of Artillery, in fine every particular that considered singly or with relation to something else can give us light; much more confidence is to be placed in such facts when they can be ascertained, than the common conversation or opinions either of inhabitants or Military Men.

Major Johnson's[12] request shall be granted and a proper certificate given him.

I am sorry to be informed that you have proceeded to such extremity against Mr. Wadsworth D. Commissary of Issues;[13] it is altogether contrary to rule to commit a person acting in that capacity to the prevost Guard; The mode of treating the Commissaries and their Assistants in case of neglect of duty or misdemeanour is pointed out in the resolve of Congress made for the regulation of the Department, which directs that they be tried by a Court Martial by order of the Commander in chief, or Genl Officer commanding a post.

The Regiments of Cortlandt and Van Schaick being ordered on a remote duty, makes it necessary that the Officers and men

[12] "Majr. Johnson will hand Your excellency this, who finding no provision made for him in the Army (with Your Excellencys permission) about to Leave the Service; he has never had a Commission and therefore wishes to have a Certificate of his Services from Your Excellency, as it may be of Service to him."—*Scott to Washington*, Oct. 17, 1778. Scott's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[13] This was not, however, Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, Deputy Commissary of Purchases; but a "scaleman" by the name of Wadsworth. (See Washington's letter to Brig. Gen. Charles Scott, Oct. 25, 1778, *post*.)

belonging to them in your Corps should join immediately; you will give orders therefore that they may be marched in order by the most direct road to the Continental Village. I am etc.[14]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 18, 1778.

Sir: I am honored with yours of the 9th inclosing a Resolve to extend the Embargo and to prevent forestalling provision.[15] I hope the latter will have the desired effect, for unless that most infamous practice of raising the prices of the necessaries of life can be stopped, it will be impossible for any Funds to subsist the Army.

Inclosed you have the Copy of a petition from the Refugees in New York to the Commissioners. You may depend upon the authenticity of it, as it is taken from a New York paper. It should seem by this that they are extremely sollicitous and anxious to know whether New York is to be garrisoned, which implies a suspicion on their part, that it is to be evacuated.

All accounts since mine of the 14th confirm the report of a very considerable embarkation.[16] It is said to consist of ten British Regiments compleated to their full establishment, and their Grenadier and Light Companies added to them. This will make them amount to upwards of five thousand Men. They have not sailed. I cannot say that I am satisfied, that a total evacuation of the City is intended this Winter, altho' many

[14] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

[15] See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Oct. 2, 1778.

[16] On this same day (October 18) Washington forwarded, in a brief note to Comte D'Estaing, his latest intelligence concerning the British embarkation at New York. The comte had, meanwhile, received the same information from Ensign De Boubée, of the French Navy, who had visited the British Fleet at New York to effect an exchange of prisoners. Washington's note, D'Estaing's reply (October 23), and an extract of De Boubée's report are in the *Washington Papers*.

inhabitants near the lines and several out of the City are of that opinion. I have set every engine at work to procure full intelligence of their designs and I hope to succeed. The current opinion of deserters and others is that the present embarkation is intended for the West Indies; some few have said that they have a design upon Charlestown. I have the honor &c.[17]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, October 18, 1778.

Gentlemen: Major Nicholas has been with me, and reported the state of the Cloathing, and also the forwardness in which it is for coming on. I was sorry to find by his account, that the whole of the shoes will not exceed Seven thousand pair. This I thought it my duty to inform the Board of, as the supply will not more than answer the Instant pressing wants of the Troops, who are actually barefoot. I fear we shall suffer greatly in this necessary article, unless every possible exertion is used to prevent it. The demands are continual, and too large a quantity cannot be provided. I have the Honor etc.

P. S. Major Nicholas who has returned to the Eastward, informed me the Cloathing were of excellent quality and in very good order. Viz. the Coats, Jackets and Breeches; but from the account of Mr. Kemper, one of Mr. Mease's Assistants, many of the Blankets, which he has just opened, are so small, that four of them joined together, will not exceed the common and necessary size of One. It is reported here, that a Ship from Spain has just arrived at Baltimore with a very considerable cargoe. Perhaps she may have some Blankets.[18]

[17] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[18] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Frederick'sburgh,
Sunday, October 18, 1778.

Parole Tunbridge. Countersigns Thrace, Tenbury.

Lieut. Augustine Taylor[19] of the 7th. Connecticutt Regiment is appointed Pay Master to the same from the 27th. day of July last.

Colo. Greaton is appointed President of the Genl. Court Martial which is to sit tomorrow morning ten o'Clock, *vice* Colo. Patten.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Frederick'sburgh,
Monday, October 19, 1778.

Parole Copenhagen. Countersigns Chatham, Cape Ann.

As Colo. Greaton is unable to attend the Court Martial whereof he was yesterday appointed President, Lieutt. Colo. Smith[20] will preside in his room.

Major Murphy[21] is appointed an Additional Member of the Court which will sit tomorrow morning nine o'Clock at the usual Place.

A General Court Martial of the Line whereof Col. Bradley[22] is appointed President will assemble at the President's Marqui next friday morning ten o'Clock and sit at such place as shall be provided by the Quarter Master General for the trial of Col. Price[23] and such others as shall come before them. Lieutt.

[19] Lieutenant Taylor was transferred to the First Connecticut Regiment in January, 1781, and resigned in June of that year.

[20] Lieut. Col. Samuel Smith.

[21] Maj. Hardy Murfree(?), of the Second North Carolina Regiment.

[22] Col. Philip Burr Bradley, of the Fifth Connecticut Regiment.

[23] Col. Thomas Price, of the Second Maryland Regiment. He resigned in April, 1780.

Colos. Hay,[24] Russell[25] and Harney,[26] Majors Nichols,[27] Thompson[28] and Holdridge[29] and a Captain from each of the Brigades on the Ground will constitute the Court. All Evidences and Persons concerned to attend.

Nixon's, Parsons's and Huntington's Brigades, to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning. Ensign Richard Fullerton[30] of the 3rd. Pennsylvania Regiment is appointed Adjutant to the same from the 1st. of July last.

*CERTIFICATE

Fredericksburg in the State of New York,
October 19, 1778.

I have no perfect remembrance of the conduct, or particular applications of Lieutt. Colo. Johnston[31] of Colo. Wards Regiment for a furlough; nor do I at this period recollect how or by what means he obtained one while the Army under my

[24] Lieut. Col. Samuel Hay, of the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment. He was wounded at Stony Point, N. Y., in July, 1779; retired in January, 1781.

[25] Lieut. Col. Giles Russell, of the Fourth Connecticut Regiment. He was later promoted to colonel of the Eighth Connecticut Regiment, to date from March, 1778; died in October, 1779.

[26] Lieut. Col. Selby Harney, of the Second North Carolina Regiment. He was transferred to the Third North Carolina Regiment in February, 1782; promoted to colonel in September, 1783; served to close of the war.

[27] Major Francis Nichols, of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment. He resigned in May, 1779.

[28] Possibly William Thompson, who was adjutant of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment.

[29] Maj. Hezekiah Holdridge, of the Second Connecticut Regiment. He was later promoted lieutenant colonel of the Seventh Connecticut Regiment, to date from May, 1778; retired in January, 1781.

[30] Fullerton was promoted to lieutenant in May, 1779; transferred to the First Pennsylvania Regiment in January, 1783. According to a resolve of Congress (Nov. 1, 1783): "Lieutenant Richard Fullerton, having acted as a volunteer at an early period of the war, particularly in the action on Long Island, and at the battles of Trenton and Princeton; and having discharged the several extra appointments of adjutant, major of brigade, and the important one of assistant adjutant general to the southern army, highly to the satisfaction of his general officers: Resolved, That the Secretary at War issue to Lieutenant Fullerton, the brevet commission of captain."

[31] Col. Obediah Johnson, of the Connecticut Militia. He had been lieutenant colonel of Ward's Connecticut State regiment from May, 1776, to May, 1777.

command lay in Bucks County in the State of Pensylvania. It is a fact notorious however, that the situation of our Affairs at the time we lay on the West bank of the Delaware (in the Month of Decemr. 1776) was such as to require the attendance of every Officer and Soldier, and the greatest exertion of the former, our force being small and we in daily expectation of the enemy's attempting to force the passage of the River on their Rout to Philadelphia, the supposed object of the Expedition. I do not believe that Lt. Colo. Johnston had any knowledge of the intended attack upon Trenton because the success of the enterprize depended too much upon the secrecy of it, not to have used every precaution for concealment.[32]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 19, 1778.

Dear Sir: I last evening received the inclosed from Congress with a Request that I would take measures for carrying the plan recommended by Colo. Hartley into execution. The advices which I have just received from different quarters bear the strongest Marks of an immediate evacuation of New York.[33]

These considerations induce me, should it be deemed expedient, to make an addition to Colo. Cortlands command by sending up the whole of Genl. Clintons Brigade, except Van Schaicks Regt. which is to relieve Gansevoorts at Fort Schuyler. In that case Genl. Clinton would go with his Brigade. I do not know the situation of Chemung, the place which Colo. Hartley

[32] This certificate was given in response to Johnson's application, Apr. 10, 1778, a photostat copy of which is in the *Washington Papers*. Johnson had been later accused of importuning for a discharge, when his application was for a furlough, which was granted; he returned to the Army before the expiration of his furlough time. (See Washington's Certificate, 1779, Sept. 4, *post*.)

[33] At this point the following is crossed off in the draft: "The precise destination of the enemy is yet unknown, but as a considerable detachment is, from every account, intended for the West Indies, the remainder, should they incline to operate to the Eastward, will be inadequate to our force and that of the Militia."

advises to be possessed by us, and cannot therefore say, whether the same Body of men which are to be employed upon the Anaquaga expedition, could afterwards break up the settlement at Chemung. I shall send General Hand to take command at Albany in the room of General Stark who goes to Rhode Island. Perhaps by enlarging our force in the manner I have before mentioned, we may be enabled to carry on our operations upon the frontier upon a more extensive plan, by forming one expedition under the immediate command of Genl. Clinton and another under Genl. Hand or Colo. Butler composed of the troops already to the Northward. That there may be a more free and full communication upon this subject I have desired Genl. Clinton, Genl. Hand and Colo. Cortland to wait upon you. As your Legislature are now sitting, there must be Gentlemen from every part of the State well acquainted with the frontier, the different Routes the resources of the Country and many matters conducive to the conduct and success of such an expedition.

After having made the proper use of Colo. Hartley's letter be pleased to return it to me, as I have not a Copy. I am etc.

P. S. Be pleased to forward the inclosed to Genl. Stark by the earliest conveyance.[34]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT

Head Quarters, October 19, 1778.

Sir: I have received your two letters of yesterday's date; If you think the intelligence of the evacuation of Kings bridge and the intermediate posts between that and New York, may be depended upon, it will be proper to order a respectable detachment of horse to move down that way, in order to make

[34] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

more particular inquiries and discoveries of what is going forward. The officer commanding this party should proceed with the greatest circumspection and caution to guard against any move that may be laid for him by the enemy; after he has gained all the intelligence that his own observation and the accounts of inhabitants will furnish, he will return and report to you, and avoid being so long stationary as to become an object of enterprise to the enemy. I am, etc.

P. S. The intelligence from Lord Stirling[35] who is now at Elizabeth Town, likewise indicates a general evacuation, it is of the utmost importance to ascertain this Fact, and I desire that no expence may be spared in doing it, as speedily as possible.[36]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND

Head Quarters, October 19, 1778.

Sir: You are forthwith to proceed to Albany and take the command at that place and its dependencies. The forts on the frontiers, and all the Troops employed there will be comprehended under your general command and direction. Besides the garrisons, there are at this time Warner's Regiment, Alden's, the fourth Pensylvania Regiment under Lt. Colo. Butler and the rifle Corps, late Morgan's, now commanded by Major Posey.[37] The principal objects of your attention will be the defence of the frontiers, from the depredations of the Enemy, and the annoyance of their settlements, as much as

[35] "Between Eight and Nine OClock last night, I received your Lordship's favor of the 16 Inst."—*Washington to Lord Stirling*, Oct. 19, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Stirling's letter of Oct. 16, 1778, is in the *Washington Papers*. In it he forwarded Maj. Richard Howell's latest report and an account of the British embarkation activities in New York, by a sea captain by the name of Clun, who had just been exchanged. Stirling also mentioned "a Grand Wedding of Miss Smith to Mr. Elisha Boudinot."

[36] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

[37] Maj. Thomas Posey. Col. Daniel Morgan's Rifle Corps had been designated the Seventh Virginia Regiment and was then commanded by Posey.

circumstances will permit; in which you will be aided by the Militia of the Country.

The late repeated incursions of the Savages and the mischief they have effected, have determined me to direct an expedition against Anaquaga, one of the chief places of their rendezvous. It is my present intention that General Clinton with a part of his Brigade shall be employed in this business, and Governor Clinton will furnish a body of Militia, to assist in the enterprise.[38] I have directed the former to proceed to Poughkeepsie, and consult the latter fully on the manner and means of conducting it. The Troops which are now on the frontier, will either form a junction with these to render the operation more decisive; or according to circumstances may cooperate and form a diversion in their favor by making an attempt upon some other point. It will therefore be useful for you to be present at this consultation, to acquire thorough information of the nature of the expedition and the manner of co-operation; and I also recommend it to you to advise with the Governor at large upon the several matters, which will fall within the notice of your command. His extensive knowlege of the frontier and the resources of the Country in general will be very seviceable to you.

General Stark now commands at Albany. I have written to him informing him that you are to succeed him. He will communicate all the particulars necessary for your information. I wish your earliest attention to be paid to the state of the Garrisons, to see whether the supplies of stores of every kind in them are sufficient, or if they are not to make up the deficiency.[39]

[38] In furtherance of this Washington wrote to Governor Clinton (October 20) that the then latest news from Albany "serves to shew the hostile intention of the Indian enemy and consequently the necessity of counteracting them as vigourously as possible." Washington's original letter is in the Huntington Library.

[39] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. From the original in the collection of Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN STARK

Head Quarters, October 19, 1778.

Sir: By recent intelligence from the city of New York, there are the strongest appearances of a general evacuation. Where the force of the enemy will be next directed can only be the subject of conjecture; but it is generally supposed, if they operate again any where in the United States, it will be against Boston and the French fleet. Should this event take place, your influence near the seat of war will enable you to render more essential service there, than where you now are. With a view to this, I am to desire you will forthwith proceed to join General Sullivan at Providence. General Hand will succeed to your present command, to whom on his arrival at Albany you will be pleased to communicate every thing necessary for his information and Government. I am, etc.[40]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 20, 1778.

Sir: Since I wrote to you last I have recd. accounts from New York which I think may be depended upon that the greatest part if not the whole of that Garrison are upon the point of embarking. A considerable number had embarked. Upwards of one hundred sail of square rigged Vessels besides a great number of Sloops and schooners fell down to the Hook on the 16th. and 17th. Under these circumstances I think it safe and prudent to direct Genl. Patterson's Brigade to move forward to morrow after Poor's and late Learned's. I desire that you will proceed with them and take the command of the whole. You will not move beyond Hartford with out hearing further from me. By

[40] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

the time the troops arrive there, if not before, I shall know with certainty whether a total evacuation is meant.

I received yours last evening with your own opinion subscribed by Generals Poor and Patterson.[41] I am &ca.[42] [N.Y.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 20, 1778.

Dear Sir: In my last letter of the 18th. Instant I observed that the whole current of intelligence from New-York suggested an immediate evacuation of the City. My accounts from different quarters still wear the same complexion. An intelligent officer stationed at Amboy reports, "that the 16th. Octor. about twelve ships fell down to the Hook, and the 17th. early in the morning about one hundred ships of war and transports also fell down to the hook." Lord Stirling who transmits this information, says, that signal guns have been firing almost all day (17th) in New-York bay, which he supposes were for more ships to follow. I am, etc.[43] [MS.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 20, 1778.

Dear Sir: In my last letter of the 18th. Instt. I observed that the whole tenor of intelligence from New-York suggested an immediate evacuation of the place. My accounts since from

[41] Gates's letter of October 19, subscribed to by Brig. Gens. Enoch Poor and John Paterson, is in the *Washington Papers*. It gives as Gates's opinion that the British could have no other object of attack than the French Fleet at Boston; that the Highlands needed no greater garrison than the number of British troops left in New York City; and that the Army should winter in the vicinity of Fishkill.

On October 21 Washington wrote again to Gates, acknowledging the letter of October 19 and stating that the movements of the British "still continue to point the same way with the late information which I transmitted." The original of this brief note is in the New York Historical Society.

[42] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[43] In the writing of James McHenry.

different quarters still wear the same complexion, and seem to bring it nearer to a crisis. An intelligent officer stationed at Amboy reports . . .[44]

Thus we see every circumstance supposes an evacuation at hand, tho' the enemy's object or destination cannot be investigated from those circumstances. The preparations, or movements in your quarter if well known I would think more immediately tend to this discovery at least they may serve to ascertain with more certainty whether a general evacuation of the States be intended. For this purpose you will take every method to discover what is going forward in the garrison, among the shipping, whether it is employed in the embarkation of stores and of what kind. In short every minute motion and circumstance should be collected. You will spare no reasonable expence to gain this information nor make any delay in its communication.

I have directed Gen. Stark from Albany to join you. From your former request to have the general with you, I am disposed to beleive you will not be dissatisfied, and that you will be able to find him an agreeable command. I am, etc.[45]

To COLONEL THOMAS SEYMOUR

Head Quarters, near Fredericksburg, October 20, 1778.

Sir: I received your favor of the 6th. Instt. by Lt. Ellsworth, with the inclosure referred to[46]; and also the Company Rolls and pay Abstract of the Horse under your command, in 1776. The Rolls and Abstract, according to constant practice, were transmitted to the Pay Master General for examination, by Mr. Ells-

[44] The omitted portion is the same as that in Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. William Heath, the same date as this letter, *q. v.*

[45] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

[46] Seymour was then at Hartford, Conn.

worth, who reported that they contained a load of inadmissible and unprecedented charges &c. such as in justice to the public, he could by no means think himself authorised to allow. Under these circumstances, a Warrant could not be granted for the claim, and the adjustment of it is rendered the more difficult, by the length of time since the Horse were out; and by all my papers and Letters of that date, which respect the matter, being deposited at Philadelphia. It is my wish to do justice in all cases, both to the public and to Individuals, but, in the present instance, I cannot act and bring matters to a conclusion for want of proper information. After the report of the Pay Master, I wrote to Colo. Sheldon, hoping that his memory would serve to clear up some points in question; but it will not.[47] I mean as soon as the situation of things will admit, to collect all my papers together and when I obtain such as relate to this subject, I will take the earliest opportunity to advise you; in the mean time the Rolls and Abstract will remain with me unless you should call for them. I am, etc.[48]

To ROYAL FLINT[49]

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 20, 1778.

Sir: There is the strongest reason to suppose that a great part of the Army will continue this Winter upon the East side of Hudsons River. The season approaches fast when it will be next to impossible, on account of the Roads, to bring forward a

[47] Colonel Sheldon, who was with Seymour's Light Horse in 1776, had written (October 18) that he "had no opportunity of Knowing upon what Terms we were sent. Our leaving New York in the manner we did, displeased me so much, I never made any Enquiry into the matter afterwards. I let Colo. Seymour know I should never make any demands on the publick for our Services, but that I was of opinion we were Indebted to our Country for Quiting their Service in so Scandalous a manner." Sheldon's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[48] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, who has noted on the draft: "A Resolution of Congress 16. July 1776, fixing the subsistence of the Horse @ ½ Dollar pr Week."

[49] Deputy Commissary of Purchases.

sufficiency of Flour even for daily consumption. The distress to which we were reduced last Winter at Valley Forge, for want of a proper Magazine, makes me extremely sollicitous to see such an one established in time, as will, with what can be brought on from time to time, supply the exigencies of the Army without difficulty. I therefore desire you immediately to set every engine at work, to get as much flour as possible brought from the Southward and stored upon the East side of the River, near Fish Kill. It will there be convenient to the Highland posts, to the Army should it be Barracked any where upon the River, or be ready for transportation to the Eastward should there be occasion to move to that quarter. Whatever Flour may be purchased upon the Head of Hudsons River should be brought down while the Navigation continues open. Genl. Schuyler, who is well acquainted with the River, informs me that it is no uncommon thing, to have it froze over by the middle of November. You therefore see the necessity of losing no time in having the flour from thence brought down.

It is probable that two or three Regiments besides the Garrison of Fort Schuyler may be quartered at Albany, Schenectady and Saratoga this Winter. Your deputy at Albany should make provision for such an event. I am &ca.

P. S. Since writing the above a reason occurs for keeping a Magazine of Flour up the North River. If therefore you can possibly subsist the Army in that Article without bringing any down from thence, I would wish it may remain there.[50]

To COMTE D'ESTAING

Head Quarters, October 20, 1778.

Sir: I had the honor of transmitting to Your Excellency on the 18th. inst. some advices which appeared to me very interesting.

[50] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

An intelligent officer stationed at a proper place for observing the enemy's naval movements, in his last report, says . . .[51]

An orderly book of the enemy's which has fallen into our hands, confirms the account already communicated to Your Excellency of the drafting of three Regiments vizt. the 10th. 45. and 52. to complete others to their full establishment; it differs only in making the latter amount to nine instead of ten, and is more particular in informing us that in completing the Corps no account is to be made of Prisoners of War.

The care taken to fill them, is a convincing proof to me that these Regiments are destined for some separate service. A part of the objections which I have already taken the liberty to suggest to Your Excellency, it does not appear to me probable that the enemy wd hazard an expedition against your Squadron with such a force, and they have no other object of enterprise in America; thus reasoning upon the Subject corroborated by a variety of concurring intelligence induces a belief that this detachment is intended for the W. Indies. It is very probable however that the enemy will leave a naval force superior to that under Your Excellency with a view of keeping it in check, while the Transports convoyed by the remainder of their Ships and Frigates proceed to their destination.

How far they may be restrained from acting offensively by a reinforcement from France or active measures taken by the other branch of the House of Bourbon,[52] Your Excellency is best able to judge. My solicitude for the interest of our allies will plead my excuse for entreating you to give me some light in this subject.

No opportunity shall be missed on my part of communicating to Your Excellency every interesting intelligence and

[51] The omitted portion is the information, in practically the same words, as that in Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. William Heath, the same date as this letter, *q. v.*

[52] Spain.

proving the attachment and respect with which I have the honor, etc.

P. S. Three brigades are moving eastward to guard against the remotest possibility of Your Excellency's Squadron being the object of the enemy's manoeuvre.[53]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Tuesday, October 20, 1778.

Parole Sandown. Countersigns Saco, Sydenham.

Doctor Cochran[54] during the absence of Doctor Burnett[55] is to do the duty of Physician and Surgeon General in the Army in the Eastern Department.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Wednesday, October 21, 1778.

Parole Dunbarton. Countersigns Dedham, Dunkirk.

Lieutt. Samuel Richards[56] is appointed Pay Master to the 3rd. Connecticutt Regiment, Lieutt. William Adams[57] to the 4th., Lieutt. John Shearman[58] to the 6th. and Lieutt. Richard Sill[59] to the 8th. from the 7th. of September last.

Purity of Morals being the only sure foundation of publick happiness in any Country and highly conducive to order,

[53] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

[54] Dr. John Cochran. He was then physician and surgeon general of the Middle Department.

[55] Dr. William Barnett (Burnett). He served to June, 1782.

[56] Richards retired in January, 1781.

[57] Adams was transferred to the First Connecticut Regiment in January, 1781. He was cashiered in June of that year.

[58] Sherman was transferred to the Fourth Connecticut Regiment in January, 1781, and to the Second Connecticut Regiment in January, 1783; served to June of that year.

[59] Sill was transferred to the First Connecticut Regiment in January, 1781; promoted to captain in April, 1781; major and aide to Lord Stirling in September, 1781; rejoined his regiment n January, 1783; served to June of that year.

subordination and success in an Army, it will be well worthy the Emulation of Officers of every rank and Class to encourage it both by the Influence of Example and the penalties of Authority. It is painful to see many shameful Instances of Riot and Licentiousness among us; The wanton Practice of swearing has risen to a most disgusting height; A regard to decency should conspire, with a Sense of Morality to banish a vice productive of neither Advantage or Pleasure. The frequent Robberies which have lately prevailed in the Vicinity of Camp are truly alarming and demand the most vigilant Exertions to detect the Perpetrators and bring them to the severest punishment.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 21, 1778.

Dear Sir: Since I wrote to you this morning the inclosed Resolve of Congress[60] came to my hands. As Sir Henry Clinton never complied with the request of granting passports for the transportation of Flour by Water it becomes necessary that the Convention troops should, without loss of time, be put in motion for Charlotteville in Virginia, agreeable to the order of Congress. You will be pleased to signify this to General Phillips immediately upon the receipt. I know of no way of conveying the troops to the place of their destination but by calling upon the several States thro' which they are to pass for a proper guard of Militia and Carriages sufficient to transport their Baggage. You will therefore apply to the State of Massachusetts for the number necessary, and when you have fixed the time of march and the Route, inform Governor Trumbull that he may be ready to receive them upon the Borders of Connecticut. I shall give him previous notice that he may be prepared for such an event. Be pleased to inform me likewise, when

[60] See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Oct. 16, 1778, for resolve which recited the previous resolve of Sept. 11, 1778.

the troops leave their present Quarters that I may make application to the Governors of New York, New Jersey &ca. for an Escort. I am &ca.[61] [MS.H.S.]

To LORD STIRLING

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 21, 1778.

My Lord: I inclose you the extract of a letter from Governor Livingston to Congress, which they have referred to me. I think it not impossible, some instances of a commerce between the inhabitants and the enemy, may have been tolerated for the purpose of gaining intelligence, and that this may have given rise to the whole suspicion. But lest there should be any thing more serious in it, that may require a remedy, I am to request your Lordship will have the matter inquired into, in the manner you shall judge most effectual, and if you discover any improper connivance, or concurrence on the part of the officers at Shrewsbury, that you will take proper measures not only to prevent it in future, but to punish the past. I am, etc.[62]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 21, 1778.

Sir: I am favd. with yours by Genl. Clinton. I have furnished Genl. Schuyler with the Resolve of Congress[63] directing the Expedition to Chemung, and desired him in conjunction with Governor Clinton and yourself to take the matter fully into consideration, that if thought practicable at this season of the year

[61] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

On this same day (October 21) Washington wrote again to Heath sending later information of the enemy received from Lord Stirling, dated October 19. He wrote also practically the same short note to Sullivan and added: "I have the pleasure to inform you, that the taking of Dominica by the french is confirmed. The Articles of capitulation upon the occasion were agreed to on the 7th of September, and have just reached Camp." These letters are in the *Washington Papers*.

[62] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[63] Of Oct. 13, 1778.

it may be undertaken, if not, that I may stand justifiable to Congress for laying it aside.

You have in my opinion put the present supply of the inhabitants of the German Flats[64] upon the proper footing, I will lay their distressed situation before Congress and if they approve of their being supplied at public expence, it may be continued untill they can settle themselves again and procure the means of livelyhood. I am &ca.[65]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 21, 1778.

Dear Sir: It is of the utmost importance that we should be thoroughly acquainted with the resources of this State in regard to Flour. Can it be procured in any considerable quantity, it will not only save the immense expence that arises upon the transportation from Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland, but it will enable us to lay up suitable Magazines, which I fear we shall not be able to establish notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the Quarter Masters and Commissaries while the distance of carriage is so great. It now takes our whole strength of teams to bring forward the daily consumption of the Army, [and should we move with any part of the Army further to the Eastward, this difficulty will be increased.]

Could the scrutiny into the remaining quantities of Wheat and Flour be made by persons vested with proper authority by the legislature, it would add much to the ease of executing such a plan and to the precision of the enquiry. I would therefore request the favr. of your Excellency to lay the proposal before your Assembly, and endeavour to obtain the nomination of a suitable person in each district or township producing Wheat

[64] New York.

[65] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

and Flour throughout the State, to procure as exact a return as possible of what remains of either, in the hands of every person within his district. As this will be for the general advantage, I do not think the State should bear the expence of the enquiry. I will therefore engage for the payment of such Wages, as shall be, by the Assembly, deemed adequate to the trouble. If this law can be procured the sooner it can be carried into execution the better. Both the Quarter Master and Commissary General are anxious to know what they may depend upon with certainty in this Quarter.

I am informed by the Quarter Master Genl. that there has been a necessity of erecting public Buildings at convenient places for the reception of provisions and Stores upon the lands of private persons within this State; and that in some instances the proprietors of the land have undertaken to pull them down. If this is suffered, the public will be put to the greatest inconvenience and loss. I could wish this were remedied by the intervention of the legislature. A proper compensation might be made for the use of the Ground, and the Buildings become the property of the proprietor when no longer wanted by the public. I am &c.[66]

*To JOHN PARKE CUSTIS

Fredg. N. York, October 21, 1778.

Dear Sir: The Inclosed came to my hands by the last Post.

The Enemy have been very busy since their return from the Jerseys in Imbarking Troops. Nine Regiments are compleated

[66] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From the collection of Judge E. A. Armstrong, Princeton, N. J. The portion in brackets is in Washington's writing in the draft, which is also by Tilghman. On Judge Armstrong's original, Governor Clinton has drafted his reply of November 1, forwarding an act of the New York Legislature of October 31, to more effectually provide flour, meal, and wheat for the army. Clinton suggested sending 4,000 or 5,000 bushels of salt into the State to exchange for grain and flour and also an investigation of the practices of the commissaries of purchases. Clinton's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

to their full establishment by drafts from some others which are reduced, and these I am perswaded are destined for the West Indies. Whether the rest of the Troops will remain in New York, return to England, or go to Hallifax is yet matter of uncertainty. Appearances seem to favour a genel. evacuation of the City but the matter is by no means certain. My love to Nelly and Compliments to any enquiring friends. I am Dr. Jack, etc. [N.Y.P.L.]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 22, 1778.

Dear Sir: I wrote to you yesterday inclosing the resolve of Congress for the removal of the Troops of the Convention to Virginia. I find, upon perusing the resolve more attentively, that Sir Henry Clinton by the resolve of the 11th. of Septemr., recited in that of the 15th. Instt[67] had the choice of either granting passports to transport Flour by Water, or to supply the Troops himself by the 1st. Instt. If neither has been complied with, then the removal is to take place. The first request we know has never been granted, and I imagine no steps have been taken to supply the Troops from New York or else where. If there have, agreeable to the letter and spirit of the resolution; they are to remain where they now are. If not, they are to be sent forward in the manner pointed out in mine of Yesterday.

I have certain advices that the Fleet left Sandy Hook the 19th. and 20th. The first division consisted of upwards of 120 sail of

On October 21 Washington wrote briefly, also, to Comte D'Estaing, sending the latest reports of the British movements and his congratulations on the capture of the island of Dominica by France.

Also, on this same day (October 21) Washington wrote to the President of Congress approving the request of the Chevalier Mauduit Duplessis for leave to return to France, which Congress granted November 3, at the same time conferring upon Duplessis the brevet of colonel of artillery and a grant of £250 to meet his expenses in coming to America and returning to France.

[67] Both letter sent and draft are plainly 15, but the date should be October 16.

which 15 were of the line, and 10 or 12 Frigates. The second division about 30 sail, of which two were of 50 Guns and two Frigates. They stood Eastward. Whether the remaining Ships and Troops are to remain at New York, I have not yet been able to ascertain. I am &ca.

P. S. I think it would be prudent under the present appearances for you to call for 5000 Militia including those already in service; altho' I am myself persuaded that the late embarkation is not intended against Boston, I would not for the sake of opinion, put any thing to the risque. That force with the Count's own strength and General Sullivans, will prevent the Enemy, should they be bound thither, from doing any thing decisive before the Troops upon their march can get up. It is more than probable that the British Fleet of Men of War will appear off Boston, to keep the Count in check, altho' the destination of the transports may be to any other Port. I do not think it will be needful to call for this addition to the Militia, in their regular course of service or for any certain time. those from the vicinity of Boston had better come out for a few days, as in that time the views of the Enemy will be known.[68] [MS. H. S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 22, 1778.

Dear Sir: In my letter of yesterday I gave you my latest information. I have now to advise you, that the fleet left Sandy Hook the 19th. and 20th. Instt. The first division consisted of about 120 vessels, of which 15 were of the line, and 10 or 12 Frigates. The second division about 30 sail of which two were of 50 Guns and two frigates. They all stood Eastward. Whether the remaining ships and troops are to continue at New York I have not been able to ascertain.

[68] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

Three additional Brigades will march Eastward to-morrow morning.

I am pretty well persuaded from the consideration of such of the enemy's circumstances in Europe and their Islands as have come to my knowledge that the present armament from New-York, is not destined against Boston. Nevertheless it is our duty to have every thing in that quarter in a state of actual preparation for such an event. Measures have been provided for this purpose. And should the force of the enemy take this direction I have no doubt of your exertions agreeable to your former instructions on this head. I would just observe, that altho' the enemy should not act against boston, yet their fleet may demonstrate before the harbour the better to cover the transports which have sailed or may have still to sail. I am etc.[69]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 22, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have been favoured with your Letter of the 13th. Instant.[70] I must refer you for the particular circumstances attending the surprise of Colonel Baylors Regiment to those officers and men who made their escape and, who are now in the Jersey. Those persons also in whose houses the Dragoons were quartered may be able to assist in your report to Congress. And should any deserters have come from the party concerned in the attack their evidence may have its consideration. Lord Stirling can inform you on this subject to whom I have written for that purpose. I am etc.[71]

[69] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

[70] Livingston's letter states that he had been called upon by a resolve of the Congress of Oct. 6, 1778, to obtain the facts, under oath, of the massacre of Colonel Baylor's Dragoons by the British: "The President in his Letter inclosing the resolve says that if the bayonotting in cold blood should be proved he apprehends suitable retaliation will immediately follow a refusal of satisfaction." Livingston's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[71] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

To COMTE D'ESTAING

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 22, 1778.

Sir: Since I had the honor of writing to Your Excellency yesterday, I have received some further accounts, which you will be pleased to find inclosed.[72] They confirm the sailing of the British fleet which lay at the Hook. I confide most in the account from Lord Stirling with respect to the number. You will observe it is said they sailed towards the eastward; but Your Excellency will be sensible that nothing particular can be infered from this circumstance, as the wind with which they went out naturally gave them that course, 'till they had cleared the land, whatever might be their ultimate destination. Though I am still of opinion, it is most probable this detachment is designed for the West Indies; yet my unwillingness to leave any thing to chance, that depends on me, in which the interest of the common cause is essentially concerned, has determined me to order three additional brigades to begin their march tomorrow Morning towards Connecticut River.[73] I take pleasure in every occasion of assuring Your Excellency of the Respect and attachment etc.[74]

To LORD STIRLING

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 22, 1778.

My Lord: I am favd. with yours of the 19th. and 20th. with their inclosures, and thank you for the important and particular intelligence which you have communicated. I must now beg

[72] The inclosures were extracts of Maj. Richard Howell's letter of October 19 and Lord Stirling's of October 20, both of which are in the *Washington Papers*.

[73] "You are immediately to proceed with the brigade of Nixon, Parsons, and Huntington, by the route which will be delivered to you by the Quarter Master General, as far as Hartford, where you will wait for farther orders."—*Washington to McDougall*, Oct. 23, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[74] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

of you to continue your endeavours to find out whether a total evacuation is intended, or a Garrison to be left in New York. If the latter, the Knowlege of the number of Troops, the Corps, and the ships of War will be very essential. If your expresses can with safety cross to South Amboy, your communication with Major Howell will be much more expeditious.

If you obtain any material intelligence, I shall be obliged to you for transmitting it immediately to Congress; but I would just hint to your Lordship the necessity of mentioning to the president what information they may give to the public as authentic, if they chuse to publish: As I see they have printed a postscript to one of your letters, in which you speak of the evacuation of Fort Independence as a report only.

If the small detachment of Major Lee's has not yet left you, be pleased to send them forward to join their Corps.

I have informed Govr. Livingston that you would afford him any assistance in your power in collecting evidence of the surprise and Massacre of part of Colo. Baylor's Regt. I am etc.[75]

[H.S.P.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 22, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have been favoured with yours of the 20th. and 21st. The Serjeant[76] is intelligent and proves beyond a doubt that a large Body of troops have been embarked. The Fleet left the Hook the 19th. and 20th. It now remains to find out whether they mean a total evacuation this fall or to garrison New York; let the attention of all your intelligences and Spies be turned to these points. If they intend to keep a garrison, let them be very particular in discovering the number of Troops,

[75] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[76] Sergt. Nathaniel Brown, of Sherburne's Additional Continental regiment.

the Corps of which they consist, and where posted, especially how many are upon long Island. I think you may as well pass by Knyphausen's letter in silence. If you do answer him, I would have you defend the conduct of the Serjeant, who could not be supposed to infringe a flag, by hindering one of our own subjects from carrying supplies to the Enemy.[77] I am &ca.[78]

To COLONEL CHARLES MYNN THRUSTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 22, 1778.

Sir: I am sorry to find by your favour of the 20th., that we have not perfectly understood each other, with respect to your continuance in the Army. I cannot now recur to your letter written in the fall of 77 which has been by some accident mislaid, but I well recollect it was conceived in such terms as led me to believe you had lost all prospect of raising your regiment, and would be obliged, however reluctantly, to relinquish your station in the army. I took up an idea at that time, that it nearly amounted to a resignation; and I was confirmed in this idea by your subsequent ill success. When the Committee of Arrangement arrived in camp, about the close of last Winter, in the state I laid before them, of the additional batalions, I omitted yours, considering it as having intirely failed; and I had no doubt that you looked upon yourself as out of the service, though you had not made a formal resignation.

I am happy to learn from Col. Harrison that notwithstanding you viewed the matter in a different light, yet in consideration

[77] General Knyphausen had complained of the conduct of the sergeant who had gone with a flag of truce to the British and taken some cattle from a countryman on his return toward the American lines. Knyphausen's letter is not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

[78] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

of the difficulties occurring in your case, you expressed to him a willingness to limit your claims to this period; and it is intirely agreeable to me, that you should make up your accounts to the last of January, about which time my reports were made to the Committee.

I assure you Sir, I sincerely regret, the failure of your regiment, both on your own and on a public account. On the most favourable opinion of your merit, my appointment to your late command was founded, and the same opinion makes me lament you could not have had an opportunity of serving your Country at the head of your regiment. With great personal regard I am etc.[79]

To SAMUEL WASHINGTON

Fredericksburg in the State of New York,
October 22, 1778.

Dear Brother: This Letter will be delivered to you, I expect, by Colo. Thruston; from whom you will be able to receive a more circumstantial acct. of the situation of Affairs in this Quarter than can be conveyed well, in a Letter.

We have been kept in an anxious state of suspence respecting the designs of the Enemy; nor are we able, at this time, to form any precise Ideas and judgement of their ultimate determinations. A considerable detachment of their Land Forces, and all their heavy Ships Sailed from New York on the 20th. Instt., whither bound is not certain; but I believe to the West Indies as their Affairs in that Quarter begin to put on a gloomy aspect. The taking of Dominica by the French opens quite a new field;

[79] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton and is dated October 23, which afterwards has been changed to 22.

and if the Spanish take a part, I think G. B will have abundant cause to repent her undertaking to subjugate this great Continent to a State of Vassalage.

Not less, I think, than Six or Seven thousand Men have been detached from the City; but what they mean to do with the rest, is uncertain, many circumstances lead to a belief that they are about to evacuate it, whilst others tend more to prove that they intend to leave a Garrison there and at Newport. A short time must, I should think, unfold their Plans.

The Commissioners have made their dying Speech in the shape and form of a Manifesto and Proclamation. In this is an implied threat, which I have no doubt they will, if they can, and not restrained by motives of policy, execute. Sure I am that motives of humanity will have no influence on their conduct. I inclose you one of their Proclamations tho it is probable you will have seen it before

General Woodford left this Yesterday for Virginia, for the purpose of having Colonel Thruston's Estate divided. I shall only add my Compliments to our Friends at Fairfield[80] and others who may enquire after Dr. Sir, Yr. etc.[81]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Thursday, October 22, 1778.

Parole Rhode Island. Countersigns Rupert, Rehoboth.

Nixon's, Huntington's and Parsons' Brigades are to march at seven o'Clock tomorrow morning from the Left under the Command of Major Genl. MacDougall. The Quarter Master General will give the Route.

[80] In Berkeley County, Va.

[81] The text is from a copy in the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress, compared with the original in December, 1892, then stated to be in the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

The first Connecticutt Regiment to be stationed at Danbury to guard the Stores now there 'till further orders.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp near Fredericksburg, October 22[–23], 1778.

Sir: I have been Honoured, in due order, with your favors of the 13th and 16th Inst.; the former came to hand on Sunday Evening, the latter to day. The several matters, which are the Objects of them, shall have my attention, as far as it shall be practicable.

With respect to the practices complained of by Governor Livingston, the Extract from his Letter, transmitted by Congress, conveyed the first intimation I had of them. I have written to Lord Stirling upon the occasion[82] and requested him to inquire into the matter and to report the result.

Previous to the receipt of your Letter, inclosing a Copy of Colo. Hartley's, I had determined and ordered another Regiment to march and co-operate with those under Colo Alden and Lt. Colo. Butler, which have been employed on the frontiers of this state for sometime. It was intended that the whole should go against the settlement of Anagquaga, with such Militia as might join; but from the accounts received this morning, I have reason to hope, that Lt. Colo. Butler has already destroyed the Town.[83] I am now consulting Govr. Clinton[84]

[82] See Washington's letter to Lord Stirling, Oct. 21, 1778, *ante*.

[83] Butler's expedition had been entirely successful. His journal (October 1–16) was forwarded to Washington by Brig. Gen. John Stark in a letter of October 18. On the margins of the journal Washington has noted the daily marches made by the troops, who traveled a total distance of 110 miles and destroyed both Anaquaga and Unadilla in 15 days.

[84] Washington sent Butler's journal to Governor Clinton in a brief note dated October 24 with the remark that "Perhaps this may be of some service to you in forming some decisive opinion upon the Chemung expedition." Clinton returned the journal to Washington, as requested. Stark's letter to Washington, Washington's note to Clinton, and a copy of Butler's journal are in the *Washington Papers*.

and General Schuyler, who are much better acquainted with the frontiers in this Quarter than I am, upon the practicability of an expedition upon a large scale, against Chemung. I dont know what will be the result; but I am apprehensive from the advanced season of the year and the daily increase of the Rivers and Creeks, it will be found impracticable or at least extremely difficult in the execution.

I have written to General Heath to take immediate measures for carrying into effect, the intention of Congress, respecting the removal of the Convention Troops, in case Sir Henry Clinton has not furnished supplies of provision and fuel, according to their Resolution of the 11th Ulto. The matter now rests upon this footing, as passports have not been granted for our Vessels, or any answer given to the application upon the subject. It will not be possible for me to send proper guards from the Army to escort the Troops on their march, and therefore I have requested General Heath to employ a sufficient number of the Massachusetts Militia to conduct them to Connecticut. I shall make a like requisition to Governor Trumbull, and it will be necessary, that the several States in succession, through which they are to pass, be called upon in the same Manner.

With respect to seditious papers calculated to excite dissentions and mislead the people, Congress may be assured, that whenever they may be sent from the Enemy by a Flag and they come to my hands, I shall not fail to suppress them. I fear however, the avenues and channels in which they may be conveyed, are so various and so numerous, that no exertions will be found sufficient intirely to prevent the evil.[85]

[85] At this point the following is crossed out in the draft: "and I am not certain that an ineffectual attempt by Authority, to suppress and seize, would not involve more disagreeable consequences than a free circulation, especially with proper strictures." (See also *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Oct. 16, 1778.)

Having mentioned the subject of seditious papers, I beg leave to observe, that the Commissioners in their late Proclamation and Manifesto have touched upon every thing to awaken the fears of the people. They have thrown out an implied threat, to change the manner of the War to one of a more prædatory and destructive kind. They may have done this only in terrorem; but it is possible that it may be intended, as a serious principle of practice. It perhaps may not be imprudent to guard against it, by fortifying our most valuable and most accessible Sea ports. Immediately after the Action of Monmouth I sent General Portail to form a plan of fortification for the Delaware. While he was in the execution of this, he was called away at General Lee's instance, as a Witness in his trial. After this was over I thought it necessary, that he should turn his attention to the Highland posts; and lately, the possibility of an Enterprise against the french fleet and the Town of Boston, determined me to send him to that place, to take measures for their common security. Previous to this however he had sent Colo. Laumoy[86] to prepare the way, by taking plans of the River and the Adjacent Country near Philadelphia. These points I deemed it material to mention, and submit to Congress the propriety, as Colo. Laumoy is not yet returned, of their directing a number of Men, to prosecute the defences.

October 23.

Congress, I make no doubt, will have heard from Lord Stirling, or thro' some other Channel, before this reaches them, that a considerable fleet sailed from York on the 19th and 20th and put to Sea. According to advices, it consisted of about 150

[86] Colonel Jean Baptiste Joseph, Cheavlier de Laumoy. He had been a major of French Engineers; was commissioned colonel of Continental Engineers by Congress the latter part of 1777; wounded at Stono Ferry, S. C., in June, 1779; taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1780; exchanged in 1781; retired in October, 1783, with the brevet rank of brigadier general.

sail, including transports and Ships of War. The amount of the Troops on board is not known; but from the current of intelligence, they are those mentioned in my Letter of the 18th, with some additional corps; and it is the general opinion, that they are destined for the West Indies. There are many reasons in favor of this and among them, the taking of Dominica by the French is a very weighty one. However, as Boston and Count D'Estaing's Squadron are capital Objects, and those only on the Continent to which we can hope to afford succour; I thought it prudent and the part of caution, to put three Brigades Viz. Poor's, Pattersons and the late Learned's in motion on the 18, 19 and 21st. Inst. which are ordered to proceed for the present, as far as Connecticut River. Nixon's, Parson's and Huntington's follow to day and are now on their March. These movements will be attended with many great inconveniences, arising particularly from the difficulty of supplying flour; but as I have already observed, tho all reasoning is against an Eastern expedition at this time, especially with a Detachment, they are such as could not be avoided. Besides advancing these troops, I wrote to General Heath yesterday morning, to request as many of the Neighbouring Militia as would make the whole number, comprehending those already assembled, Five Thousand, which I trust with the other forces in the Eastern Quarter, will be sufficient to delay the operations of the Enemy, if they are going against Boston, till we can give further and I hope effectual relief.

I beg leave to inclose an Extract from a Letter of the 20th. Inst. from Genl. Hand, who is going to take the command at Albany, respecting the distressed Inhabitants of the German Flats. In consideration of their sufferings and of the great importance of the settlement to us, I have consented to his furnishing them with provision, agreable to the propositions between

him and Governor Clinton, till Congress shall be pleased to decide whether they are to be supplied at the expence of the States, or upon what other terms and for how long.

I have the Honor to transmit a Copy of Lieutenant Colo. Butler's Journal, which I just now received in a Letter from General Stark. Congress will perceive by this, that he has effectually destroyed the Settlements of Anaquaga and Unadilla, and returned with the Troops under his command to Schoharie. I hope their destruction will give some relief to the Frontier Inhabitants of this and the States of Jersey and Pensylvania, at least for this year, as they were places of Rendezvous for the Savages and Tories who infested them, and where they deposited a part of their plunder.

We are again distressed for want of Money. The Military Chest is quite exhausted, and near three Months full pay due the Army. I wish a Supply to be sent to the Pay Master as soon as possible. I have the Honor &c.

P. S. I have written to Lord Stirling and requested him as he is much nearer Congress than I am, to transmit them information of any material occurrences that may come to his knowledge respecting the movements of the Enemy.[87]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Friday, October 23, 1778.

Parole Elizabethtown. Countersigns Essex, Egypt.

At a General Court Martial of the Line, Octr. 15th. 1778, Colo. Patten, President, Henry Despert, Daniel Thompson, John Kidder, John Cole, Asa Adams, Samuel Wortman, Jonathan More, Davis Brown and Edward Wiley of the

[87] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Commander in Chief's guard were tried for going out secretly with their side Arms in the night of the seventh instant with a design of being revenged on Captain Van Heer's men for confining some of the Guard and acquitted of the charge exhibited against them; Also Thomas Piper of His Excellencys guard was tried for destroying and moving Mr. Kean's House; It appearing to the Court that said Piper carried away some of the boards after the house was pulled down; but from circumstances they are of opinion he is undeserving of any more punishment than what he has already received by confinement.

The Commander in Chief confirms the opinion of the Court and orders the aforementioned Prisoners to be released and return to their duty.

At the same Court, Hate-evil Colston of Colo. Nixon's Regiment was tried for entering the house of Reuben Crosby, an Inhabitant of Frederick'sburgh, by force of Arms in company with one more, and taking from thence about three hundred dollars in Continental Money, one Musquet, one pair of plated Shoebuckles and sundry other Articles, found guilty of the charge exhibited against him being a breach of Article 21st., Section 13th. of the Articles of War and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back well laid on.

At the same Court by Adjournment, Octr. 16th. 1778, Joseph Timberlake, a Soldier of His Excellency's guard was tried for knocking down Lieutt. David Zeigler[88] when he was in the way of his duty. The Court are of opinion that altho' it appears that the Prisoner did not knock Lieutt. Zeigler down, yet as it appears he struck him, his Conduct was highly blameable and unjustifiable being a breach of Article 5th., section 18th. of the Articles of War and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back.

[88] Lieut. David Ziegler, of the First Pennsylvania Regiment. He was captain in December, 1778, and retired in January, 1783.

The Commander in Chief approves the two last mentioned sentences and orders them to be put in Execution tomorrow morning 9 o'Clock near the Village of Frederick'sburgh.

Likewise Serjeant Roach, Corporal Forbs, John Smith, Solomon Townsend, William Palmer, Lewis Flemister, Henry Perry and William Jones were tried for striking Corporal Wingler, of Captain Van Heer's Troop and calling him a *Hessian Bougre* likewise for swearing and unsoldierly behaviour when taken up by Captain Van Heer.

The Court acquit Serjeant Roach, Corporal Forbs, William Palmer, Lewis Flemister, Henry Perry and William Jones, of the charge against them; They are of opinion that John Smith did call Corporal Wingler a Hessian Bougre and that Townsend struck him, also that John Smith and Solomon Townsend were guilty of swearing and unsoldierly behaviour after being in Custody of Captn. Van Heer, but are of opinion that Smith and Townsend should not receive any more punishment than they have already receiv'd by confinement.

The Commander in Chief confirms the opinion of the Court. The last mentioned Prisoners to be released from confinement and return to their duty.

At the same Court Martial, Lieutt. Colo. Smith vice, Colo. Patten appointed President, Jesse Goldsmith, Gibbs Lamb and Thomas Glover, soldiers of the 1st. North Carolina Regiment were tried for plundering the house of Daniel Burch of some Cash, sundry Articles of wearing Apparel and Household Furniture. Thomas Glover also charged with stealing sundry Articles from the Inhabitants whilst encamped at White Plains; Also with stealing a piece of Linen from an Inhabitant on the march from White Plains to Danbury.

The Court are of opinion that Jesse Goldsmith, Gibbs Lamb and Thomas Glover are severally guilty of plundering the house

of Daniel Burch of the Articles mentioned in the Crime, being a breach of Article 21st., section 13th. of the Articles of War; They are also of opinion that said Thomas Glover is guilty of stealing several Articles from the Inhabitants whilst encamped at White Plains, and they are also of opinion that said Thomas Glover is guilty of stealing a piece of Linnen aforementioned being breaches of the aforesaid Articles of War. The Court do sentence Jesse Goldsmith and Gibbs Lamb to receive one hundread lashes each on his bare back well laid on, and they do unanimously sentence Thomas Glover to suffer Death. Likewise William York and John Eldridge, soldiers of the first North Carolina Regiment, at the same Court were tried for being concerned with Thomas Glover in stealing several Articles when encamped at White Plains; Also John Ferguson for being concerned with said Glover in stealing the aforesaid Linen, found guilty and sentenced to receive one hundred lashes each on his bare back.

At the same Court by Adjournment, October 22nd., Moses Walton and John Herring, soldiers, and Elias Brown Fifer of His Excellency the Commander in Chief's guard were tried for breaking into the house of Mr. Prince Howland on or about the 3rd. instant and robbing him of several silver spoons, several silver dollars, some Continental dollars and sundry kinds of wearing Apparel to a considerable amount; Also in company with John Herrick for plundering of Mr. John Hoag, on the fifth instant late at night of a number of silver Spoons, a quantity of hard Money, four hundred and fifty pounds in Continental Bills and sundry kinds of wearing Apparel with several other Articles to a large Amount.

The Court are of opinion that John Herring, Moses Walton and Elias Brown are severally guilty of all the Charges exhibited

against them, being breaches of Article 21st., section 13th. of the Articles of War. They are also of opinion that John Herrick is guilty of plundering Mr. John Hoag on the 5th. instant late at night of sundry Articles being a breach of the Article aforesaid.

The Court (upward of two thirds agreeing) do sentence John Herring [*sic*] to suffer Death.

The Court (two thirds agreeing) do sentence Moses Walton to suffer death.

The Court (upward of two thirds agreeing) do sentence Elias Brown to suffer Death and John Herrick to receive one hundred lashes on his bare back well laid on.

His Excellency the Commander in Chief approves these sentences. Shocked at the frequent horrible Villainies of this nature committed by the troops of late, He is determined to make Examples which will deter the boldest and most harden'd offenders. Men who are called out by their Country to defend the Rights and Property of their fellow Citizens, who are abandoned enough to violate those Rights and plunder that Property deserve and shall receive no Mercy.

Thomas Glover will be hanged tomorrow morning at Guard mounting at the Camp in presence of all the troops on the Ground who will be assembled for the purpose near Fredericksburgh. Herring will be sent to the Division under Baron De Kalb to suffer the same Punishment. Brown to the Division under Major Genl. MacDougall and Walton to that under Major Genl. Gates, to be executed in like manner; Their Execution to take place as soon as they arrive.

The sentences of corporal punishment to be put in execution tomorrow morning near the Village at the time aforesaid.

At a Division General Court Martial held at Danbury October 8th. 1778, by order of Major General Gates, Brigadier

General Paterson, President, a certain David Farnsworth and John Blair were tried for being found about the Encampment of the Armies of The United States as Spies and having a large sum of counterfeit Money about them which they brought from New York, found guilty of the charges exhibited against them and sentenced (two thirds of the Court agreeing), to suffer death.

The Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders them to be executed as soon as they arrive at General Gates's Division.

To MAJOR GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD

October 23, 1778.

[See letter under date of Oct. 27, 1778, *post.*]

To BARON DE KALB

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 23, 1778.

Sir: The Quarter Master General has an immediate occasion for 250 Men with a proper number of Officers to assist in getting forage down the North River while the Navigation is open. You are to furnish that number from the two Maryland Brigades and put them under the direction of Colo. Hay Deputy Qr. Mr. Genl. who will assign them to their posts and duties. The fatigue will be extraordinary and the Qr. Master General will for that reason make them some allowance. He desires as many of the Men and Officers as possible may be such as have been used to go by water. I am &ca.

P. S. 20 Carpenters and 20 Masons are also wanted. If that number or any part of them can be procured from your division, be pleased to furnish them to Colo. Hay.[89]

[89] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To COLONEL WILLIAM MALCOM

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 23, 1778.

Sir: I received yours of the 14th. inst. inclosing the weekly Return and an Account of two wounded Officers. The application must be to the Director General Doctr. Shippen. I am told there has been a Resolve of Congress passed for making provision in such cases,[90] but I have never seen it.

Inclosed you have an order upon the Cloathier at Fishkill for Blankets and Cloathing for the persons you describe. The Cloathing for the Tory prisoners and for the Deserters may be of that which is turned into the Stores by the troops who draw new Uniforms. When any of these people have worked out their times, they may leave the Blankets for the next comers. I am, etc.[91]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 23, 1778.

Sir: By the inclosed Resolution you will find the determination of Congress to remove the Troops of the Convention from the State of Massachusetts to Charlottville in Virginia, should not the conditions therein required have been complied with. I have directed Genl Heath should it be found necessary, to put those troops in motion as quick as possible, as the Season is already far advanced, and the distance, from the place of their present Cantonments to that of their destination, very considerable. I propose, as the most speedy way of forwarding the prisoners, that each State shall furnish a guard of Militia through its own Boundaries, and Carriages to transport their Baggage.

[90] See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Oct. 20, 1778.

[91] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Should they move I have desired Genl. Heath to give you notice when they will march from their present quarters, and by what Route, that you may have due time to order a proper escort; and I mention the matter to you at this early period, that you make such provision for their passage through Connecticut, as you may think necessary. I have the honor, etc.[92]

To COMTE D'ESTAING

Head Quarters, October 24, 1778.

Sir: The coincidence between Your Excellency's sentiments, respecting the Marquis de la fayette's Cartel[93] communicated in the letter with which you honored me the 20th. and those which I expressed to him on the same subject, are peculiarly flattering to me. I am happy to find that my disapprobation of this measure was founded on the same arguments which in Your Excellency's hands acquire new force and persuasion.

I omitted neither serious reasoning nor pleasantry to divert him from a Scheme in which he could be so easily foiled, without having any credit given him by his antagonist for his generosity and sensibility. He intimated that Your Excellency did not discountenance it, and that he had pledged himself to the principal Officers of the french Squadron to carry it into execution; the charms of vindicating the honor of his country were irresistible; but besides he had in a manner committed himself and could not decently retract; I however continued to lay my friendly commands upon him to renounce his project; but I was well assured that if he determined to persevere in it, neither

[92] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[93] Challenge to Earl Carlisle, which was dated October 5 and sent to the British lines by Lieutenant Colonel de Gimat, an aide to Lafayette. The text of the challenge is printed in the fifteenth report, appendix, part VI, of the British *Historical Manuscripts Commission: The Manuscripts of the Earl of Carlisle*, p. 374. The copy of the challenge forwarded by Estaing is not found in the *Washington Papers*.

authority nor vigilance would be of any avail to prevent his message to Lord Carlisle. And though his ardour was an overmatch for my advice and influence, I console myself with the reflexion that his Ldship will not accept the challenge, and that while our friend gains all the applause which is due to him for wishing to become the Champion of his Country, he will be secure from the possibility of such dangers as my fears wd otherwise create for him, by those powerful barriers which shelter his lship and which I am persuaded he will not in the present instance violate.

The report of Lord Carlisles having proposed a substitute reached me, for the first time in Your Excellencys letter; if this is really the case, his Ldship has availed himself of one of the ways in which he was at liberty to wave the Marquis's defiance, and has probably answered it in a strain of pleasantry; for the affair being wholly personal, his ldship could not have made such a proposition seriously. Indeed I have every reason to think that the matter has terminated as I expected; for the Marquis was still in Philadelphia by my last accounts from thence; we wait with impatience for his arrival, which he promised sooner than his affairs probably have permitted. I have the honor etc.[94]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, near Fredericksburg, October 24, 1778.

Sir: The letter, which I had the honor of addressing to your Excellency the day before yesterday, would inform Congress of the embarkation and sailing of a considerable detachment of the enemy from New York; and of the measures I had taken, in expectation of, and upon the happening of the event. Whether

[94] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.

this will be succeeded by a further embarkation, or by a total evacuation of the posts, which they hold within the States, in the course of this year or the ensuing one, I cannot pretend to determine. But as it will be right and prudent in us to prepare for every contingency, I would, with the greatest deference, submit it to Congress, whether it may not be proper for them to call upon the States to provide Men in time for filling their respective Battalions before, or at any rate against, the opening of the Spring, in the same manner, as if there was a moral certainty that the War would be prosecuted with all possible vigor on the part of Britain. Should this not be the case, or should any events cast up in the mean time, to render Troops unnecessary, it will be easy to disband the levies, and to keep them from the field, while on the other hand, our relaxations in not providing them, may subject us, at least, to many disagreeable consequences.

The general Return of the Infantry in the Month of September, transmitted to the Board of War by the Adjutant General, and to which I beg leave to refer, will shew Congress the whole amount of our reputed force at that time; but I am to observe, that large, very large deductions are to be made from it, on account of the Columns of sick and the men said to be on command. Many under the former description, particularly that of sick absent, are actually dead, others unfit for service, and several, who have recovered, have deserted: nor will the latter afford more than one half of its number in time of Action, as various duties such as waggoning, distant Guards, Escorts &c, employ a great proportion of those under this denomination.

Besides the above deductions, Congress will perceive from the Return which I now take the liberty of transmitting,[95] that

[95] This return is filed with Washington's letter to Congress of October 31 in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 152, 6, fol. 431.

there are 4380 Drafts and others, whose terms of service will expire during and by the close of the Winter. For I am sorry to add that our exertions to re-engage the Drafts and old Soldiers, in this predicament, for the usual Bounty, have proved so far ineffectual and without success. I have not tried what effect the additional Grant of ten dollars might have; but I fear and it seems to be the opinion of all I have consulted upon the occasion, that it would have but little if any influence. I know in the case of the Drafts and troops of one State; that the offer of twenty dollars on the part of the Continent, with a like allowance and an actual deposit of it by the State has been no temptation. This general reluctance and refusal is founded in the unhappy depreciated light in which the Soldiery view the money, and their expectation of receiving immense State, District and substitute Bounties. Whether grants or bounties by Congress, bearing some proportion to these, to such as should inlist for the War would be attended with better success, I cannot undertake to decide. The experiment may be made, if they judge it proper, and if it proves an inducement to any extent, it will be an infinite saving in the end. I believe however, our surest and only certain aids will be derived from drafting, which I trust may and will be done by the States on the recommendation of Congress, agreeable to the mode mentioned in my letter to their Committee, when they first honored me with a visit at Valley Forge. The exertions to recruit by voluntary inlistments may still go on, as both modes in all probability will not produce near as many men as may be found necessary.

In the Case of the Carolina Troops, whose service is ending every day, the Officers say, that nothing will induce them to inlist, unless they can be permitted to go home on furlough till the Spring. On this indulgence they seem to think, several might

be engaged. The distance is great and there will be some uncertainty as to their returning; besides it will be fixing a precedent for others. If Congress approve the plan, they will be pleased to inform me by the earliest opportunity.

I am under some difficulty about cloathing the drafts and the old Soldiers whose service is expiring and will determine every day. As Congress have never expressed their sense upon the subject, and this is increased by a letter which I received some time ago from the Board of War, which respects particularly the drafts. I must earnestly request that Congress will favr. me with the speediest direction in the Case, whether they are to be furnished out of the supplies coming on, equally with the other troops. At the same time I will take the liberty to offer it as my opinion, that however inconvenient or expensive it may appear at the first view to cloath them, the measure will be necessary and founded not only in humanity but sound policy. We have no prospect now of levying men in any other way, and if they are not cloathed they will be exhausted by sickness and by death; and not doing it may prove an insurmountable Bar, or at least a great obstacle to our obtaining future Aids, tho' the Exigencies of our Affairs should be never so pressing. Yet, the cloathes may be withheld as long circumstances will permit, as an inducement for them to inlist. In the instance of the old Soldiers, who have not received the annual allowance of Congress, the point seems clearly in their favor. The Board suggested, that the drafts might be supplied out of the best of the old Cloaths, which might be given in by the troops on receiving new ones; but unfortunately there will be few of any worth. I have the honor &c.[96]

[96] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The letter was read in Congress on October 31 and referred to the committee of William Duer, Roger Sherman, R. H. Lee, and Gouverneur Morris, to prepare a plan for procuring reenforcements, etc.

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Head Quarters, October 24, 1778.

Dear Sir: I inclose you the opinion of Mr. Pettit A. Qr. M. G. and the Commissaries Massrs. Flint[97] and Stuart,[98] on that paragraph in your letter of the 22d. Instt. which respects the purchasing the flour and wheat in those districts of Pennsylvania and Jersey, above Trenton, with their several sentiments how far a water conveyance can be conveniently adopted. Mr. Stuart is particularly conversant in the navigation of Delaware, both above and below the mountains.

Things you will observe by Mr. Flints letter, are already in a train and proper measures shall be taken to have the purchases stored at Cole's fort[99] as you purpose, from whence they may be moved as the exigencies of the army require. To obtain an estimate of the quantity which may be drawn from those places I have given orders to the Commissary to send a person properly qualified for this purpose who will transmit his report as soon as complete.

I am much obliged to you for offering yourself in this affair, but as it seems so well contrived, and the business in some degree entered on, I would not wish to give you unnecessary fatigue on this occasion. I am etc.[1]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 24, 1778.

Sir: A fleet of about one hundred and sixty sail, supposed to contain 7, or 8,000 men having left the Hook the 19th. and early the 20th., I, Yesterday morning put three Brigades, Nixon's,

[97] Royal Flint, Assistant Commissary General of Purchases.
[98] Col. Charles Stewart, Commissary General of Issues of the Continental Army.
[99] Coles Fort, N. Y.
[1] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

to send an Express to meet Genl. Gates with information of it, that he may hasten the march of the six Brigades under the command of himself and General Mcdougall. Be pleased also to advise me of it with the greatest dispatch, as I mean, should such an event take place, to set out immediately and take the command of the Army at Boston. I am etc.

P. S. Endeavour to be certain that the Enemy have Troops off the Harbour as well as ships of War, before you advise Genl. Gates. I think it very probable that the Men of War may blockade the Harbour while the transports continue their Course, should they have another destination. It is not my intention that the Brigades should move further than Harford without the Enemy actually attempt Boston.[4] [MS. H. S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 24, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have received your favour of the 22d. The three Brigades mentioned to you in my last marched yesterday morning towards Hartford. I have directed General Gates to open a correspondence with General Health and yourself, that you may give him instant advice of the arrival of the enemy's fleet which lately sailed from the Hook; should they be designed to operate Eastward, in order that he might immediately march forward with the troops under his command. You will at the same time that you do this, dispatch the intelligence to me, as I propose, the moment, I should hear of such an event, to proceed myself with all dispatch to the Eastward.

I would not wish the troops now at Hartford to advance unless it should be really necessary. I would therefore recommend to you to be circumspect in your communications to General

[4] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Gates, that he might not be put in motion by any ill-founded alarm. It is probable, whatever may be the destination of the present detachment from New York, the vessels of war may appear off Boston, to watch the motions of the Count 'till the fleet of transports with a small convoy have gotten pretty far on their way. But at the same time that we should not be too hasty on the one hand, we should as carefully avoid an extreme of caution on the other, lest it should produce a dangerous delay. Your own discretion will strike the proper medium. I am etc.[5]

To LORD STIRLING

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 24, 1778.

My Lord: I am favd. with yours of the 21st. and 22d. and have still to thank you for the particular and satisfactory intelligence which you communicate. If the embarkation now in preparation should be considerable, I think they must inevitably abandon New York, as their remaining force must be too small to risque the defence of the City upon.

The Roads from Morristown to King's ferry have become so exceedingly bad that the Qr. Master Genl. and Commissary inform me it is with the greatest difficulty the Waggons pass even at this dry season. I therefore desire your Lordship to detach one hundred Men from Maxwells and one hundred from Woodfords, (with a party of Carpenters with each to repair the Bridges) to mend the Roads. A Waggon load of tools with each. They may divide the distance. Maxwells take from Morristown downwards to some fixed place, and Woodford's from thence down to the ferry. Be pleased to appoint active Officers somewhat acquainted with the Business. If the parties

[5] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

from each Brigade were to divide themselves they would in my opinion accomplish more work than by proceeding in a Body.

Be pleased to endeavour to find out who commanded the late embarkation and what number of General Officers went with it. We can from thence compute the numbers with some precision. I am &ca.

P. S. The parties should go furnished with provisions.[6]

To COMTE D'ESTAING

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 25, 1778.

Sir: The certain intelligence of a large number of troops having embarked at New York; the sailing of a considerable fleet at the moment their departure was expected, and the general purport of the accounts received at the time, left me no room to doubt that this fleet which went out of the Hook the 19th. and 20th. Instant contained the detachment of the embarkation of which I had been advised. In the full pursuasion of this fact my letter of the 22d. to your Excellency, was written; but from more recent information, through various channels, bearing every mark of authenticity, I am to conclude the supposition has been ill founded.[7]

The above mentioned fleet appears in reality to have carried away no other troops than invalids, and the officers of the corps

[6] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[7] As soon as this information was received, Washington sent it (October 25) to the following officers:

To Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam, in the Highlands: "All the troops which have embarked still continue in the harbour you will keep the strictest lookout imaginable on the river, and give me the earliest communication of your discoveries . . . should a force appear on the river you will immediately throw yourself over to the fort."

To Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, at Hartford: "There were none but invalids and officers of reduced corps on board . . . the troops which had embarked, were still on the 23d Instant in New-York harbour."

To Maj. Gen. William Heath, at Boston: "Perhaps all outward bound Vessels might have taken the benefit of Convoy, which may have enlarged the fleet to an

lately reduced. The troops which had embarked still remained in the harbour the day before yesterday. They are said to consist of ten or twelve British Regiments and six of the new levies.

This fleet was probably composed principally of homeward-bound victuallers, with some merchantmen and other vessels, which chose to take the protection of a convoy. The accounts still agree, that they were accompanied by fourteen or fifteen sail of the line and some frigates. I have the honor, etc.[8]

To LORD STIRLING

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 25, 1778.

My Lord: The intelligence communicated in yours of yesterday is confirmed by a Gentleman who has been into New York with a flag and is just returned. The mistake into which we have been led, as to the embarkation, and the sailing of those transports which actually have the troops on board, has somewhat deranged us. Lest the enemy should take any advantage, be pleased to order Woodfords Brigade to move

uncommon size. My accounts still confirm a very considerable body of troops being embarked, but that they yet remain in the Bay of New York . . . you shall be advised of the sailing of this second Fleet."

To Maj. Gen. John Sullivan, at Providence, the same as to Maj. Gen. William Heath.

To Maj. Gen. Alexander McDougall, at Hartford: "You will halt the three Brigades under your command, till you hear further from me."

To Baron de Kalb, at Fishkill: "Be pleased to march early tomorrow morning to the Ground where you were before encamped, near Fishkill. . . . The above circumstances make it necessary for us to have more force near the posts in the Highlands than is now there. . . . A mile or two more or less for the convenience of Forage, Wood and Water will make little difference; but I had rather you should advance on the Road between Fishkill and West Point, and hold yourself in readiness for a further move at a Moments warning."

To Brig. Gen. James Clinton, at Peekskill: "This Letter is intended to countermand the orders which have been given you for marching; if therefore on receipt of it, your troops shd still be at the Continental Village, you will remain there with them and revert to the instructions which you received relative to that post; if it shd find you on the march you will halt . . . at the first convenient position and wait farther orders; in either case you will give me immediate notice."

These letters are in the *Washington Papers*.

[8] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

immediately towards the Clove, and to take post in such a situation as to be able to occupy it should they move up the River. Instead of sending the parties to repair the Roads from Maxwells and Woodford's Brigades, they may now both go from Woodfords, which will lay in a convenient situation for that purpose. Should the enemy, contrary to our expectations, move up the River, you will take such measures to cooperate with us as shall seem to your Lordship most advisable. I will, in my next, give you an answer respecting Colo. Burr.[9] I am &ca.[10]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 25, 1778.

Dear Sir: I recd. yours of Yesterday inclosing Capt. Walls[11] Report. Be pleased to direct your spies who go into the City to be very observant of what is doing there; whether the packing up of Goods seems general or only a few people, whether any magasine of Wood or forage is forming and whether they are constructing any works round the City or any where upon the Island. I am of opinion if they intend to hold the town this winter, that they will contract their works to a small compass. If any more Corps embark let them endeavour to find out what they are, whether British, Foreign or Levies. Have you ever heard whether the petition of the Refugees was presented, and if it was, whether they obtained any or what answer?

When I wrote to you concerning the person confined by Colo. Butler it was upon the information of Colo. Stewart Commissary Genl. of Issues, from whom I understood that the person confined was Mr. Wadsworth a relation of the Commy

[9] Lieut. Col. Aaron Burr, of Malcom's Additional Continental regiment.
[10] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[11] Walls's letter is not found in the *Washington Papers*.

General, and Commissary to your Brigade of light troops. Had he been in that station it certainly would not have been right to have put him into the Provost. I do not know the station or duty of a scaleman,[12] I can only say, that it is very difficult to get people of common honesty to undertake the lower duties of the Staff, and except they are guilty of something very criminal, that it is better to report them to their superiors and have them removed, than to enter into a quarrel with them. I have not the Resolve respecting the regulations of the Commissary's Office. I am &ca.[13]

To CAPTAIN ROBERT SMITH[14]

Head Quarters, October 25, 1778.

Sir: As you are furnished with a Copy of the instructions given to Capt. Stith,[15] you will easily discover my design in ordering him to retire with the remains of the Regiment; but as he appears in every instance to have gone counter to them, and has crossed the Delaware without advising me of it, in that case, I would have you fix on some place in the State of Pennsylvania consistent with the intention of the instructions already given, and shall confide in you, after consulting the Qr. Masters to comply with my views expressed in them. If on your meeting with Capt. Stith, you do not think he can justify the steps he has taken, I desire he may be directed to repair to Head Quarters to answer for his conduct.[16]

[12] A scaleman seems to have been one who separated or divided up the supplies into their proper relative proportions for final issue. (See Washington's letter to Brig. Gen. Charles Scott, Oct. 18, 1778, *ante*.)

[13] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[14] Of the Third Light Dragoons. He resigned Nov. 4, 1778.

[15] Capt. John Stith, of the Fourth Virginia Regiment. He was taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1780; transferred to the Second Virginia Regiment in February, 1781; served to close of the war.

[16] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Monday, October 26, 1778.

Parole Onadilla. Countersigns Oneida, Oxfordshire.

Captain Thomas Bartholomew Bowen[17] of the 9th. Pennsylvania Regiment is appointed Pay Master to the same vice Ensign Tate,[18] resigned from the 15th. inst.

*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Fredericksburg in the State of New York,
October 26, 1778.

Dear Brother: In overhauling some old Papers the other day, I came across the Inclosed Letter from Colo. Cresap[19] to me, written, as he says, in answer to one of mine on the information of his having set up a claim to some part of the Land formerly owned by our deceased Brother Lawrence, and given by him to my Brother Austin.[20] It is essential, as I have upon other occasions mentioned to you, that this matter should be enquired into; or, a hundred to one but Cresap Chouses the Hier at Law out of part of these Lands, under various pleas; strengthen'd by possession. At first he began to Rent them in behalf of my Brother's Estate (pocketing I dare say the Money). Now (by the Inclos'd Letter I find) he lays claim to one Lott, when, if my Memory does not fail me exceedingly, my Brother had Patents for both, and never was their the Shadow of a claim set up

[17] Transferred to the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment in January, 1781, and retired in January, 1783.

[18] Ensign Adam Tate. Heitman gives him as a lieutenant in the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment.

[19] Col. Thomas Cresap. Probably the letter is the one dated Mar. 21, 1775, in the *Washington Papers*. It is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. V, p. 141.

[20] Augustine Washington.

towards either till lately. As it is a Tract however that I never had any personal knowledge of, I may be mistaken in my conception of the matter, but as before think there were two Lotts; one of which my Brother purchased of Pendergrass,[21] and the other of Cresap. The fact may, I presume, be ascertained by having recourse to the Deeds, and other Land Papers belonging to that Estate, or to the records in the Proprietors Office; and in my judgment no time should be lost in the Search, as Cresap is extremely artful, and his claim will obtain strength by length of Possession.

We have been kept for sometime in an aukward, and disagreeable state of suspence respecting the Enemys intentions; nor are we able at this time to discover their views. They have five or Six thousand Men on Ship board; where they have been since the 20th. Instt., laying in the Harbour of New-York; the destination is a mistery, but I believe they are bound for the West Indies. Boston and Charlestown are both talkd of; but the Season, I should suppose, is too far advanced for any enterprize on the first, altho the French fleet would be a great additional inducement; and the latter is not, under present circumstances, I think a sufficient object. However, as it is out of all support of this Army and the other place (Boston) while the French Squadron lays there, a Capitol object, I have moved some Troops that way, to be ready in case of need. Various are the conjectures respecting a total evacuation of New York, and various are the appearances, and evidences; some tending to a belief of it, and others contradicting it. If I was to hazard an opinion upon the occasion, it would be, that they do not leave it this Winter. If I was to be asked for a reason, I should say because I think they ought to do so they having almost, invariably run counter to all expectation.

[21] Jerrard Pendergrass.

I begin to despair of seeing my own home this Winter, and where my Quarters will be, I can give little acct. of at this time. My love to my Sister, and the rest of the family concludes me Dr. Sir, Yr. etc.

PS. On the 20th. Instt. a Fleet of more than a hundred Sail left New York, said for England, they were Convoyed off by Admiral Byron (with 14 or 15 Sail of the line) whom it is thought will go to Boston, and take a Peep at the French fleet, to keep the Count in Port till their own Transports get a good offing.

To JOHN PARKE CUSTIS

Fredericksburg, New York, October 26, 1778.

Dear Jack: If my brother, to whom the enclosed is addressed should not be a member of assembly, and in Williamsburg, I should be glad if you would continue it to him by a safe hand. . . .[22]

I forgot when you were here to desire that you would let your vessel bring up to Mount Vernon all the nails and other stores which had been imported for the use of my plantation at Claiborne's, and not delivered out. These I shall want myself. The nails are of great importance to me.

My love to Nelly, if with you, and compliments to all friends. Sincerely and affectionately, I am, etc.[23]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL AARON BURR

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 26, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have your favr. of the 24th. You, in my opinion, carry your Ideas of delicacy too far when you propose to drop

[22] The omitted portion is practically the same as that respecting the British intentions in Washington's letter to John Augustine Washington, the same date as this letter, *q. v.*

[23] The text is from Custis's *Recollection of Washington.*

your pay while the recovery of your Health necessarily requires your absence from the Service. It is not customary and it would be unjust. You therefore have leave to retire untill your health is so far reestablished as to enable you to do your duty. Be pleased to give the Colonel[24] notice of this, that he may know where to call upon you, should any unforseen exigency require it. I am &ca.[25]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 26[–27], 1778.

Sir: I had the honor of your letter of the 22d Instant with its several inclosures to-day, at noon.

I shall pay a proper regard to the Act of Congress respecting Mr. de Vrigny.[26]

For information on the second resolve, for obtaining a return of the re-inlistments,[27] I must beg leave to refer Congress, to my Letter of the 24th. I have complyed with the intention of the 3d and transmitted the act to Sir Henry Clinton, which relates to Mr. Franks.[28]

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[24] Col. William Malcom, of an Additional Continental regiment.

[25] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[26] De Vrigny served as a volunteer in 1777 and was commissioned lieutenant colonel in the Continental Army Feb. 2, 1778. He acted with Armand's Legion, and resigned Oct. 21, 1778, to return to France. His memorial to Congress was, by the act of October 21, sent to Washington who was "empowered and directed to give Mons. de Vrigny such certificate and testimonial as his zeal and services may have entitled him to."

[27] The resolve of Oct. 21, 1778, for obtaining a return of reenlistments in pursuance of the act of Aug. 31, 1778. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress.*)

[28] Another series of resolutions of Oct. 21, 1778, directing the arrest of the British commissary of prisoners, David Franks, then residing in Philadelphia, for clandestine correspondence with the British.

"By direction of Congress I transmit you the inclosed copy of their resolutions on the 21st Inst respecting David Franks . . . he will not be permitted to act as commissary to the British prisoners after the 10th of next month; and, that if it is their desire that your Excellency will nominate a proper person, who, having received their approbation, may succeed Mr. Franks in the Office"—*Washington to Clinton,* Oct. 26, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

The certain intelligence of a large number of Troops having embarked at New-York, the sailing of a considerable fleet, concurring at the moment their departure was expected, left me no room to doubt, that the fleet which went out of the hook, on the 19th and early the 20th instant, contained the embarkation of which I had been advised. In the persuasion of this, my letter of the 23d to your Excellency was written. But from more recent advices, and through various channels, bearing every mark of authenticity, I am to conclude the supposition has been ill founded. The above mentioned fleet appears to have carried away, no other troops than invalids, the officers of the corps lately reduced, with some refugees. The 23d Inst. the troops which had embarked still remained in the harbour. They are fixed at 10 or 12 british regiments and six of the new levies.

This fleet was probably composed of homeward bound victuallers with some merchantmen, and other vessels which chose to take the protection of a convoy. The accounts still say that they were accompanied by fourteen or fifteen sail of the line, and some frigates.

27th.

In my Letter of the 22d. I advised your Excellency of the measures I had taken to ascertain the practicability of an enterprize against Chemung. I have the honor to inclose you the report of Governor Clinton, General Schuyler and Genl. Hand on the subject.[29] I cannot help concurring with these gentlemen in opinion, and am persuaded from a number of considerations, that we must lay aside all thoughts of an expedition against that place for the present. Besides other necessary preparations, we have not yet been able to get forward the cloathing for the

[29] A copy of this report, dated Oct. 22, 1778, is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

army. The Congress will also perceive, in Lieut. Colonel Butler's journal, transmitted to your Excellency in my letters of the 22d and 23d instant, the great difficulties he had to encounter, in crossing the rivers, at a much earlier season of the year. I have the honor, etc.[30]

*To JAMES HILL

Fredericksburg in the State of New York,
October 27, 1778.

Mr. Hill: Your Letter of the 5th. of Septr. came to my hands a Post or two ago. I thank you for your offer to look after the Plantation I held in King William, but having rented it to Mr. Custis I have no longer occasion for the Superintendance of a Manager; there, or elsewhere, in the lower parts of Virginia; and have to request, that all the Money you now possess, or may hereafter receive of mine before you quit Mr. Custis's business, may be sent to Mr. Lund Washington by him or some other safe hand. and before you remove from your present employment, I must further beg that you will furnish me with an exact Acct. of every thing sold from, and purchased for, my Estate under your care. In short the exact state of all expenditures, and Sales for my use, since the last Acct. which I settled with you myself; and as Letters are subject to Miscarriage, I shall be obliged to you to leave a Copy thereof, with a list of Ballances due me (if any there should be) with Mr. Custis, that I may, in case of accidents, be provided with another Copy from him. When I speak of a List of Ballances, I hope, and trust, there will be few or none; first from your care in making your collections, and next from the plenty of Money which leaves every person without even the Shadow of excuse to withhold payment of Debts at this time.

[30] In the writing of James McHenry.

but if the case should be otherwise, a list of those Debts first properly settled, and reduced to specialties (to avoid disputes in the collection by a new hand, unacquainted with the transaction, and unable to acct. for things which would not be disputed with you) left with Mr. Custis will enable him, or some other Person in my behalf, to receive payment of the Money with such Interest as may be due on the Bonds or Bills.

I have no doubt of your care and attention in this business. I have ever viewed you in the light of an honest Man, and doubt not but that your last transactions with me will confirm me in this opinion; yet, I cannot help observg. that from what I have been able to learn, I have derived very little profit from that part of my Estate which has been under your care for the three or four last years; but as I am not Inclined to go into an investigatn. of the matter at present, I will rather attribute it to bad Seasons and other Causes, than to the want of your good Will.

I observe what you say, respecting your wages for looking after Mr. Custis's Estate, if my Memory does not fail me the first agreement I made with you was reduced to writing, and the conditions specifically defined; after this, and some little time before I left Virginia, you complained that your lay [*sic*] was too small, and either required an augmentation or some Indulgences as an equivalent. In answer, to the best of my recollection, I told you, that as your trouble was like to be increased by the late purchases of Mr. Black that I shd. not object to some further, reasonable allowance, provided it should appear that your conduct, the good order of the Plantation's, and Crops would justifie me in so doing; how far these conditions have been complied with on your part, is impossible for me at this distance and undr. my circumstances, to determine, but as to your claim of merit, and an allowance, for the Butter sold, because Mr. Valentine applied the greatest part, or all of what was

made on the Estate to his own private emolument, it is quite new and Novel. If the case was so, which I do not believe, and think his accts. will shew the contrary, it does not follow that because one Man cheated, that another is to be paid to the amount of the fraud for being honest; the same reasoning will apply to Corn, Tobo, and other Articles. I am very sure that if Valentine had such a priviledge it was self-granted; and that, was he now living, he might be brought to a severe Acct. for the misapplication of the Money. I am also clear that he never had an Oz of Sugar or gill of rum in the World found him by agreement; these Articles were laid in for the use of Sick Negroes, and if he made use of them for his own purposes, the greater Villain he must be.

You further remark that *you think* your Wages should *rise* in proportion to the depreciation of the Money. Permit me to ask whether you have sold the produce of the Estate in proportion to the depreciation? and whether the expences have not kept pace thereto? and lastly whether during those times of common distress you are not living at the cost of another Man while you are raising and saving from your own Estate? these are matters not unworthy of consideration, altho I do not mean by propounding these questions that it should be infer'd that your Wages ought not to be raised from the original agreement, agreeable to the Spirit and meaning of my assurances to you; it was my intention (under the conditions before mentioned) that they should; and if Mr. Custis and you cannot agree on the quantum I know of no mode so just and equitable, as leaving the matter to impartial Men to determine who can have no Interest in the decision; for it is impossible for me, at this distance, and perplexed as I am with other business, to go into such enquiries as are necessary to enable me to form a proper judgment; and without this, I might do injury to one side or the other, to neither of which am I at all disposed. I am, etc.

P S. I have understood that till Mrs. Washington was at my Plantn. at Claibornes in Augt., and directed, or rather advised the Beeves and Corn to be Sold, that no steps were taken to do it; in short that you were very seldom at, or gave yourself much trouble about the Plantn. Mr. Custis will I expect, take every thing that is now on it at an appraised Value; Corn as well as other things, which will ease you of every kind of trouble of that sort. The Tobacco I trust will be prized and Inspected without a Momts. loss of time and the Notes put into Colo. Bassetts hands (after Davenport has recd. his share) to be sold for my use.

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 27, 1778.

Sir: I received last night your two favours of the 25th. with their inclosures. The intelligence from Major Gray[31] corresponds in many respects with the general tenor of my advices. The circumstance of the Merchants packing up is what I have not yet obtained any satisfactory account of and is what I am particularly desirous to have ascertained, as it would be decisive of the enemy's intention to evacuate New York, of which I am at present in very great doubt. The capture of the Falmouth packet with the September mail, if confirmed, will be a most fortunate event, but the supposition of a decoy alone can make it credible, she would suffer the mail to fall into our hands. I send you inclosed a letter to Mr. Mesom,[32] directing him to furnish cloathing to your order for the three Brigades with you. I am informed that General Patterson has procured complete cloathing for his whole brigade, and that some other regiments

[31] Maj. Ebenezer Gray, of the Sixth Connecticut Regiment. His promotion to lieutenant colonel dated from Oct. 15, 1778.

[32] George Measam, deputy clothier general at Springfield, Mass.

have done the same for themselves, by particular applications, in a different channel; where this has been the case, they cannot expect to be furnished with a double supply, and must not therefore be permitted to draw from the stock at Springfield. You will be pleased to attend carefully to this and to regulate your orders accordingly. The drafts are not intitled to the new cloathing. You will only be able to get the uniforms *at Springfield;* all the other kind of cloathing must be by this time on its way to this place, and I would not choose to have any thing stopped on the road, as it could not be done, with out many inconveniencies and much confusion. I am, etc.

PS. All the old cloathing is to be returned to the Clothier. As I am convinced many pretences will be made to elude this, I must request your pointed care in having it executed. By the old cloathing is meant, coats, jackets and breeches. I have confined your drafts to uniforms on the supposition that the other articles of every kind are coming forward; but if there should be any remaining at Springfield you may extend your orders to those. In deliveries here we use a proportion which you will also observe. We allow a shirt a pr. stockings and a pr. Shoes pr. man; half the number of blankets deficient in each regiment and ¼ of the hats wanting. The insufficiency in the quantity of these last articles forces us to use this disagreeable œconomy.[33]

[N.Y.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 27, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have been favoured with your Letter of the 21st. Instant.

I have not received General Du Portails plan of the works necessary for the defence of Boston and therefore cannot determine

[33] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

the propriety of it. My wish is, that such works as are essential to its safety, and only such, may be erected.

With respect to Captn. McFall, as I know nothing of him, I can say nothing. He may be sincere in his profession, or he may be not; but I have no idea of giving him any assurances that he will obtain a Commission in our service. Our credulity and indulgencies to persons of his character, have been of no advantage; but on the contrary, they have operated to our injury. I am not well apprised of the extent of Capt. McFalls[34] views, but if he has the firm attachment to us, which he seems to wish us to suppose, tho he should be exchanged and even be sent to Canada, he may easily find an opportunity to manifest it in a more convincing way, than by mere declaration.

The Americans are generous and where satisfied that people are their friends, they are not wanting in hospitality and acts of benevolence. I am etc.

P. S. Things with respect to the Enemy and us are in the same situation they were when I wrote you last.[35] [MS. H. S.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 27, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am favor'd with yours of Yesterday. We have been much deceived as to the fleet that sailed from the Hook the 20th. inst. I have certain intelligence, that there were no other Troops on board that fleet than the invalids bound for Europe. The transports, that actually have the troops that have been embarked, remained in the Bay of New York the 23d. It is possible that the British Guards, who have been for some time under orders to return to England, may have been on board the

[34] Capt. David McFall, of the Queen's Rangers, British Provisional Troops.

[35] In the writing of Caleb Gibbs. The P. S., which is not in the draft, is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

fleet that sailed. I should be glad if your spies would inquire into that matter.

I am sorry that any officers should be so far lost to all sense of honor and duty, as to talk of resigning, because they have not marchd with the Corps to which they belong. I would have you inform any of those that talk at this rate, that if they leave their post or command before they are regularly drawn off or relieved, or shall directly or indirectly cause any Soldier to do the like, they shall be punished, as far as martial law will extend without favor or mitigation. It is true that officers who conceive they are to go when and where they please are better out of than in the service, but will not be indulged under the present circumstances. The troops which have marched Eastward are no more going into Winter Quarters than those at Bedford or Fredericksburg and may as likely march back or forward. This is not said to quiet the clamours of those officers with you, but to shew that it is their duty to attend to the command assigned them, and not to look to what duty others are performing without knowing the principle or design of it. I am etc.

P. S. Be pleased to forward the inclosed to Major Gray[36] at Norwalk.[37]

To COLONEL GOOSE VAN SCHAICK

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 27, 1778.

Sir: I have recd. yours of this date and was a few days ago favd. with a letter from Genl. Clinton inclosing a Brigade Court

[36] Maj. Ebenezer Gray. Washington wrote him this same day (October 27), directing him to send his information by the shortest and most expeditious route. "I need not request you to pay every attention to the business you are on, or to use every practicable means to obtain faithful and authentic reports." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[37] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

Martial upon Jno. Yeomans[38] of your Regt. by the sentence of which he is capitally convicted. The Judgment of the Court appears very proper and the offender from his Crimes suitable to make an example of; but as I have been under the necessity of inflicting the punishment of death upon no less than seven persons in the different departments of the Army within a few days, I feel myself obliged to remit the punishment of the above person, after carrying him to the place of execution; lest the frequency of punishment should take off the good effects intended by it. I am &ca.[39]

To GEORGE MEASAM

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 27, 1778.

Sir: I have desired General Gates to draw upon you for cloathing for the three brigades with him, so far as they may be now deficient. This only extends to uniforms as I suppose there is a sufficiency of these remaining at Springfield and take it for granted all other kind of cloathing is already on its way I would not choose to have *any thing whatsoever* stopped on the road; which would only serve to produce confusion. It is probable you will not have to supply the whole three brigades, as I have been informed, that General Patterson's has been already fully supplied in another way and that this is also the case, with some regiments in the other two; if so, they are not to have a double supply; but this matter General Gates is to regulate.

All the old cloathing is to be delivered in to you. I am persuaded every pretence will be seized to elude this. I have therefore requested General Gates to pay particular attention to the

[38] *New York in the Revolution* (Albany: 1904), compiled by the State, gives an Isaac Yeomans, but no John, in the First New York Regiment.

[39] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

matter. You will also be pointedly exact in requiring compliance in this and in every other instance. I am, etc.

P. S. I have confined the matter to uniforms because I suppose all other articles are already on the road. If this should not be the case, you will deliver any other kind of cloathing which may still be at Springfield. The proportion we allow here . . .[40]

To MAJOR GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 23[–27], 1778.

Dear Sir: I was favoured with your letter of the 11th. Instant.[41] I am sorry at the destruction of property at Egg harbour; but in attending to the general objects of war, we must at times submit to such losses, or depend on the exertions of the militia for their prevention.

No doubt you have been informed of the progress of the enemy's embarkation at New-York. The 19 and 20th. Instt. about 150 sail of vessels, including transports and ships of war, put to sea with a considerable part of the garrison. They stood Eastward. Their destination still continues a matter of inquiry; and whether they are to be followed by the garrison. However this latter must be ascertained in a very little time. I am, etc.

[October] 27.

By some accident this letter has been delayed since the 23 which gives me an opportunity to correct an error which was induced by the fleets sailing at the moment our intelligence had

[40] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The omitted portion is the same as that in the P. S. of Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, the same date as this letter, *q. v.*

[41] Arnold's letter of October 11 is in the *Washington Papers*. He reported that the British landed 500 men from a small squadron and burnt all the houses and 8 or 10 vessels at Little Egg Harbor, N. J.; they then moved toward Great Egg Harbor. Pulaski's corps and Procter's artillery, with a few militia, were watching them. Later the British surprised Pulaski's corps and inflicted some damage.

announced for the departure of the embarkation. However we have the most authentic advices that the troops which had embarked are still in the harbour. A little time must throw some light on their intentions and serve to unravel their designs.[42]

To COMTE D'ESTAING

October 27, 1778.

Sir: I have read Your Excellency's two favours of the 18th. and 21st. with all the pleasure which the perusal of your letters never fails to inspire and which naturally attends the communications of those in whom we are interested.

I rejoice with you in the prospect of your being so soon in a state to resume the sea. I cannot but ardently desire that an opportunity may be soon offered you of again exerting that spirit of well directed activity and enterprise, of which you have already given proofs so formidable to our enemies and so beneficial to the common cause.

It is to be hoped our next accounts from Europe will manifest, that the Court of Spain has properly estimated the value of the present moment, and has united her power to that of France, to give a decisive blow to the haughty dominion, which Britain has so long affected to maintain over the Sea. The satisfaction I feel in looking forward to this event is augmented by the illustrious part I am persuaded you will act in accomplishing it.

My letter of the 24th. will I hope have removed Your Excellency's apprehensions for our amiable young friend. Every days continuance where he now is, is an additional confirmation of my conjecture on the manner in which his proposal has been received. It was natural your sensibility should be affected as it

[42] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

was. A generous solicitude for the safety of a friend, so far from requiring an apology, is intitled to applause.

The British Commissioners, I believe, will not trouble us with any more of their harangues. They authorise us to consider the last as a farewell speech, preparatory to their final exit. They will not need our aid to accelerate their political death. Whether they may not undergo a transmigration, of the sort Your Excellency mentions, time will discover. More unlikely things than this sometimes happen.[43]

The enemy's affairs in New York remain without any perceptible alteration from the state in which they were, when I had the honour of writing you last. Their troops which have embarked still lie in the harbour. I have the honor, etc.[44]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, October 27, 1778.

Gentlemen: In the Letter, which I had the honor of addressing to you on the 18 Inst. I mentioned the scanty size of many of the Blankets, which had come to the hands of the Cloathier. By this conveyance by Wm. Jones,[45] I think it proper to send one for the inspection of the Board, by which they will find, how much we have been deceived, and the publick imposed on in this essential article of supply; and also the necessity there is for purchasing more if it can be possibly done. I do not know whether these were originally imported by the states, or procured in the Country; but it may not be improper for the Board

[43] In his letter of the 21st D'Estaing had suggested that the Peace Commissioners might "lose no time in going to solicit for the next year, the place of Embassador from his Britannic Majesty to the Congress, and Philadelphia will be the place for Tories to present their addresses to them for subsistence." D'Estaing's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[44] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[45] William Jones, Congress messenger.

to instruct the Agents to be particularly careful upon future occasions that similar inconveniences may not happen. I have the Honor, etc.[46]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Wednesday, October 28, 1778.

Parole Narragansett. Countersigns Nobletown, Naples.

Lieutenant Job Vernon[47] and Lieutt. Andrew Little[48] of the 5th. Pennsylvania Regiment are appointed, the first Pay Master and the second Quarter Master to the same from the 1st. instant.

A General Court Martial of the Line to sit at or near Robinson's House as soon as may be for the trial of Major Painter on an Appeal from a late Garrison Court Martial held at West Point. A Field Officer from the Virginia Line to preside. Four Captains from Muhlenberg's Brigade, five from Scott's and three from the Garrison of West Point to attend as Members. All Evidences and Persons concern'd will attend the Court.

At a Brigade General Court Martial held in General Clinton's Brigade, October 20th. 1778: John Yeomans, a soldier in Colo. Dubois's Regiment was tried for desertion and robbery. The Charge of robbery was not supported, but found guilty of desertion and sentenced to be shot to death at the head of the Brigade.

The Commander in Chief approves the sentence but is pleased to pardon said Yeomans on account of the recent instances of many criminals having been executed for breaches

[46] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[47] Vernon was captain-lieutenant at this date. He retired in January, 1781.

[48] Lieut. Andrew Lytle. He was transferred to the First Pennsylvania Regiment in January, 1783, and served to November, 1783.

of military duty, which he hopes will not only deter him but every other soldier in the Army from violating his solemn obligations faithfully to serve the United States.

To GEORGE MEASAM

Fredericksburg, October 28, 1778.

Sir: The cold season advances so rapidly and the necessities of the troops are so distressingly great, that it is of infinite importance to the service to have the cloathing of every kind brought to camp and distributed as speedily as possible. It begins to be high time to enter into Winter quarters; and we shall be obliged to adopt the same expedient and submit to the same inconveniences with respect to quarters this Winter as we did the last. To reconcile the men's minds to the drudgery and sufferings they have before them, nothing can contribute so powerfully as to have them well clad, before they begin, [and nothing perhaps will facilitate recruiting more]; in doing this we have not a moment to lose. I am therefore to desire you will exert yourself to the utmost to forward the cloathing with all possible dispatch. Provided it come on in some tolerable order, we must dispense with the nice punctilios of exact method which at another time might be very proper. The great and pressing object now is to have the cloathing put upon the men's backs to shelter them from the inclemencies of the season.

I inclose you a certificate which will show what colored cloathing the troops of each state are to have as determined by lot. In any issues you make, you must govern yourself by this.

I wish you to know as soon as may be what quantity there is of each color. You will endeavour to ascertain it as near as you can and give me information.

As it was apprehended that there might be a surplus of Blue Cloathing after supplying the troops of North Carolina, Maryland, New Jersey and New York agreeable to lottery No. 1.[49] There was a second draft for the choice of Blue, which is to be agreeable to lottery No. 2. I am etc.[50]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL PETER MUHLENBERG

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 28, 1778.

Dear Sir: Part of the Cloathing has already arrived from Springfield and I imagine a sufficiency for the Troops in this quarter will be here in a day or two. I therefore desire you will immediately send up proper Officers from each of the Virginia Regiments and from the Delaware Regt. to draw their proportions. The Officers are to call at Head Quarters where they will receive orders upon the Deputy Cloathier for their uniforms compleat and for a proportion of Hatts and Blanketts. Be pleased to give notice to the commanding Officer of Genl. Woodfords Brigade.

In answer to yours of the 22d. I can only say that it is my wish to accommodate every Gentlemans situation in the Army to his private Affairs, as far as I can do it consistent with that duty which I owe to the public, and to the trust which is reposed in me. Genl. Woodford is already gone to Virginia; by what I can learn, Genl. Scott will be obliged, from some late domestic

[49] Lottery No. 1, which is attested by all the aides, Henry Ph. Livingston, Caleb Gibbs, and Alexander Scammell, shows that North Carolina, Maryland, New Jersey, and New York drew blue, through Harrison, Tilghman, Hamilton, and Livingston; while Virginia and Delaware, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Hazen's regiment drew brown, through Meade, McHenry, Gibbs, and Scammell. Lottery No. 2 gave Massachusetts first choice for any blue left over, Virginia and Delaware second, New Hampshire and Hazen's regiment third, and Pennsylvania last. The lotteries and the tickets drawn are in the *Washington Papers* under date of Oct. 28, 1778.

[50] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The last paragraph is in the writing of Tench Tilghman, and the phrase in brackets is in the writing of Washington.

Calamities either to go home for a time or resign, and if you go before a General Officer returns to superintend the Troops of the State, they will be left as they were last Winter without a Head and will dwindle to nothing. From the tenor of your letter I am pleased to find that you are determined to wait untill the service will admit of your absence with convenience and you may be assured that whenever that is the Case I shall give my consent to your visiting your family and Friends. I am, etc.[51]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Thursday, October 29, 1778.

Parole Holstein. Countersigns Hoebuck, Hopewell.

The Commissary General of Issues is desired to issue one Gill of Rice pr. day to the Artificers in lieu of half a pound of flour untill further orders.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters near Fredericksburg, October 29, 1778.

Sir: Yesterday forenoon I had the honor to receive your favor of the 23d Inst., with a Resolution of Congress of the preceding day, appointing Major General Gates to command in the Eastern district. A copy of the Resolution was immediately forwarded to him at Hartford, with a request that he would repair to Boston in compliance with it. Your Excellency's letter to him, was also dispatched by the same Express.

[51] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

On October 28 Robert Hanson Harrison wrote to Gates of the result of the lottery and Congress's order for him to command the Eastern Department; to De Kalb that he send proper officers to draw clothing for the Maryland regiments; to Col. William Grayson that he had permission to go to Philadelphia to settle his accounts and to resign; and to Col. Clement Biddle to settle the damage claim of James Willis for the destruction of two haystacks. These letters are in the *Washington Papers*.

The Letter which I had the honor to write you on the 22d and 23d Inst. will have advised Congress before this comes to hand, of the Troops I put in motion upon the embarkation and supposed sailing of a large Detachment of the Enemy from New York, and that this was dictated by a principle of caution, as it was possible the Enemy might have in view, an Enterprise against Boston and the French Squadron. Their advance was never intended to be farther than Connecticut river, unless the operations of Sr Henry Clinton should make it necessary; in which case it was my intention to hurry to Boston myself, as Congress will perceive by the Copies of my Letters to Genls. Heath and Sullivan, which I take the liberty to inclose, and to advance other Detachments. It was also equally my intention, founded in the necessity of the case and on the immense expence and difficulties that would attend the subsisting of these Troops, to recall them, the moment I should be satisfied the Enemy were not going upon an Eastern expedition. It so happened, that when the advices of the Enemy's sailing from New York were contradicted by Others, which I was obliged to consider as authentic, the Brigades of Nixon, Parsons and Huntington, which formed the second division of the Troops which had been put in motion, had not proceeded beyond New Milford, where they were halted and yet remain waiting events. I shall be extremely happy if my views in these instances, accord with the sentiments of Congress; and I would fain persuade myself, that from their knowledge of the scarcity of flour, or at least of the enormous expenditures and almost insuperable difficulties attending the purchase and transportation of it, they will think them prudent, and as having a strict regard to public œconomy.

As the means of transporting provision and the supplying of forage, necessary to this end, fall immediately under the care

and direction of the Quarter Master, in addition to what I have said, I beg leave to refer Congress to the inclosed representation, which I received the day before yesterday from General Greene, respecting the difficulties in both cases.[52] He has gone largely into the matter, and the observations which he has made, and which arise from his own experience, will clearly evince the inexpediency of our keeping a greater number of Troops at the Eastward, than shall be indispensably required by the probable operations of the Enemy. And to this I would subjoin the transcript of a Letter from Genl. Heath,[53] which came to hand last night, as it contains a state of our flour Magazines at Boston and points out the difficulty of subsisting the Militia I requested him to call in, upon the supposition that the Enemy might be going to that Quarter.

The subject of General Greene's Letter is very interesting and important, and I am certain will have the consideration it deserves. How far it may be practicable to transport flour by Sea, considering the circumstances of the Enemy's fleet, for forming Magazines at the Eastward, I cannot venture to determine. If it can be done with a tolerable degree of good fortune, it is certainly very desirable. Many risks must attend it, and it appears to me, either in adopting or rejecting the plan, the real plenty or scarcity of the Article among us, will have great weight. I have been informed and I believe Credibly, that the late crop of wheat in Virginia, below the blue ridge, has been almost generally destroyed by Weavel, and that no Supplies of flour can be procured there, south of the Mountains.

[52] This was Greene's letter of October 26, which is in the *Washington Papers*.

[53] This letter of October 25 is not found among the *Washington Papers*. Washington's reply is dated October 29: "The want of Flour every where, opens really a distressing prospect. It is much to be feared we shall find the greatest possible difficulty in supplying the demands for that article through the Winter." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Since my last of the 26 and 27, I have not been able to obtain any material intelligence respecting the Enemy. I have the honor &c.[54]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 29, 1778.

Sir: Col. Harrison transmitted you by my direction Yesterday, together with some dispatches to yourself from Congress, the copy of a Resolve inclosed to me, directing you to repair to Boston and take the command in the Eastern district.

On the departure of the fleet which sailed from the Hook the 19th. and 20th., I recommended to General Heath, to call out a body of Militia from the vicinity of Boston, sufficient to complete the number already in service to about five thousand. This was on the supposition, that that fleet contained the embarkation of which we had been informed. When this supposition was contradicted by subsequent intelligence; expecting still, that every moment would bring us advice of the actual sailing of the detachment, I omitted recalling the order respecting the Militia. But as several days have since elapsed, and this event has not taken place, and as every day's delay weakens the probability of any attempt against Boston and the French fleet; Will it not be adviseable to dismiss those drawn out in consequence of that order? The exhausted state of our Magazines every where makes the greatest œconomy necessary in the consumption of provisions.

I have not this day or two received any thing particular from New York. I am etc.

P. S. There is one matter which will claim your immediate attention. It respects the removal of the Convention Troops. As

[54] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

I do not know whether you may have received any instructions directly from Congress on the subject I inclose you a copy of their Resolve. It has been already transmitted to General Heath. General Portail has been sent some time since to examine the state of the fortifications at Boston and to form a plan for its more complete defence. His report has been made to General Heath who will of course communicate it to you,[55] and you will have it carried into execution, so far as you shall judge it adapted to the purpose and accommodated to our circumstances.[56]

[N.Y.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Quarters, October 29, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have your favor of last evening. From present appearances and a variety of circumstances, I think we may conclude, that nothing can be done towards the Canada expedition this Winter. It appears now, notwithstanding Genl. Bayleys[57] assurances, that the Country, upon the head of Connecticut River, will afford but a scanty if any supply of provision. Genl. Bayley has lately, upon a supposition that the expedition would be carried on at all events, called upon the Commissary at Albany to send up supplies of flour from thence. This I shall forbid.[58]

[55] On October 29 Washington also notified Sullivan of Gates being placed in command of the Eastern Department. His brief note also says: "Every thing that tends to shew the State and expectations of the Garrison at Rhode Island is highly interesting at this eventful juncture." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[56] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

[57] Brig. Gen. Jacob Bayley.

[58] Tench Tilghman wrote to Royal Flint, Assistant Commissary General of Purchases (October 29), that Washington wished "no flour or any kind of supplies may be sent up the Country to form Magazines at Newberry. Our principal inducement towards thinking of carrying the expedition into Canada, was the assurance of Genl. Bayley that a sufficiency of provision and forage could be procured on the head of Connecticut River. . . . It was very well known that under our present difficulties we could scarcely draw together a sufficiency for the Grand army, much less form magazines at such a distance." The draft of Tilghman's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

I rather meant that the Batteaus should be collected than repaired, as I understood that they were very much scattered. The place is not material so it be above the Highlands. When they are collected, if the persons who have the care of them know any thing of the Business they may repair them.

Upon a full consideration of the subject, and a comparison of the opinions of the General Officers upon cantoning the Army for the Winter, I am led to fix upon three places, Danbury, West Point and its vicinities on both sides the River, and Middle Brook in Jersey. At the first I think we determine upon two [or three] Brigades or there abouts, at the others, the numbers will depend upon the strength of the Enemy in New York this Winter. Should they, contrary to appearances and our expectations, remain there with *their* whole force, *ours* must be in proportion upon the North River; but should they send off the detachment which is now embarked, we may safely remove a greater number to Middle Brook, than we would otherwise have done. There probably may be a Regiment or two thrown directly into the Clove near Sufferans where there are Barracks already built, and if circumstances will admit a Brigade at Albany &ca. But there being very good Barracks there also [and that Country ordered not to be drained but in cases of necessity,] you will have no preparations to make in that quarter. I think we may venture to assert the following position: that if the Enemy do keep a Garrison at New York it will be of sufficient strength to repel any attack that we can make with prudence during the Winter. I would therefore lay aside all thoughts of collecting our force suddenly for such a purpose, and extend my views to more remote Cantonments than the above, should our necessities [require] it and circumstances justify it. There are good Barracks at Trenton and Burlington, and the adjacent Country abounding in Wheat and Mills to

manufacture it. All the troops stationed there being fed upon the spot, would consequently ease us in the article of carriage, our greatest difficulty.

I hope I have said sufficient to explain my meaning and intentions generally. You may therefore be making the necessary previous preparations at the three capital Points. Mr. Caldwell[59] some little time ago mentioned that there were very considerable quantities of salt and fresh Forage upon the Sound, which Colo. Biddle should immediately give orders to have removed to the foot of the Mountain, or at least so far from the Water, that it may be easily brought during the Winter to the Camp. The necessity of reconnoitering proper positions for hutting will naturally strike you, and of collecting Boards, Stone and such materials as are requisite to make Barracks comfortable. I am &ca.[60]

*To BURWELL BASSETT

Fredericksburg in the State of New York,
October 30, 1778.

Dear Sir: By Mr. Custis I took the liberty of requesting the favor of you to set a value upon the Stock of every kind belonging to me at Claibornes except the Horses and Plantation Utensils which I gave him. I have since wrote to him (of this date) proposing that he shd. take all the Corn, Wheat, and Provender for the Cattle, so soon as it can be ascertained, at such prices as you shall affix; and if he agrees to it, I shall be much obliged to you for conferring this additional favor on me. It will be better for both of us that there should be but one Interest on the Plantation; and that the property thereon should not be

[59] Rev. James Caldwell.

[60] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

seperated wch. necessarily would be the case if he was to stock it for the use of the Negroes and Cattle, while the Grain and provender raised thereon remained mine, and kept distinct from his, waiting for occasional Markets. The Cotton, I expect Mrs. Washington will require for her own use; and I hope, and trust, that the Tobacco will be stripped, prized, and Inspected with all the dispatch possible; after which, and paying Davenport his share, I have directed Mr. Hill to put the rest into your hands, and shall be obliged to you for selling it for me in the same manner and at the same time you do your own.

I shall make no appology My dear Sir for giving you this trouble, especially as Mrs. Washington in a late Letter informs me that you have been so obliging as to assure her, that you would readily render me any Services of this kind in your power, which indeed I had no doubt of before, or I should not have asked assistance of you.

I have understood that some choice Bull-calves of the English kind were selected at Claibornes to breed from. I beg you to accept one of the best as a present from me. These being descended from Mr. Custis's English Bull are much more valuable than common Calves of the same age, inasmuch as they will improve the breed.

We still remain in a disagreeable State of Suspence respecting the Enemys determinations; there are reasons for and against a total evacuation of New York. I ought rather to have said, there are circumstances and evidence for and against it; for reason will allow no alternative so clearly does it point out the propriety of relinquishing their Ideal projects of bringing the United States to their terms. A few days must, I think unfold their views as they have been, and now are busily Imployed in imbarking Troops, Stores, &ca. most of which have fallen down

to Sandy hook. The West Indies is the supposed place of destination for this Armament. My Compliments to all enquiring friends. I am, etc.

To JOHN PARKE CUSTIS

Fredericksburg, October 30, 1778.

Dear Sir: The letter herewith sent for Mr. Hill is left open for your perusal; after reading which, seal and cause it to be safely delivered. He will find my sentiments fully expressed, and I hope will make no further appeals to me on the subject of his wages.

You had better take the whole crop of corn, fodder, &c., so soon as measured, at such a price as Colonel Bassett shall fix, and if the same thing was done respecting the wheat, it would be best also to avoid a divided interest, and distracting the attention of the overseer between your property and mine, in order to keep it separate on the plantation, and in the sale of it. The tobacco I expect, and hope you will positively direct Davenport to carry to the warehouse as soon as possible, that it may not be wasted, or in any degree be injured by keeping it on hand.

When it is inspected, it is my wish that his share be immediately given to him, and my part put into the hands of Colonel Bassett, to be sold at such times, and for such prices as his judgment shall direct. If you do not incline to take the corn and wheat upon the terms mentioned before, I beg that it be immediately sold, so soon as it is out of the shuck and straw; as I would not wish to have it lay in barns or corn-houses for days as my property, in expectation of a good market, if it can be tolerably well sold at the time and in the manner I have mentioned, having little expectation that Davenport, after his connection with me ceases, will give that attention to my property as he

would to those on whom he immediately depended for his place and employment. The cotton, I presume, your mother will want; it should therefore be got in order to come round when you shall find occasion to send your vessel to Potomac.

We are yet in a state of suspense respecting the enemy's intentions of evacuating New York wholly, or in part; circumstances daily arising to justify one in the adoption of either opinion. A considerable embarkment of troops has actually taken place, and is still continuing. One hundred and fifty transports are now at the Hook ready for sea. A few days, therefore, must, I should think, develop Sir Harry's designs. I have no doubts, as I have mentioned in my former letter, that the West Indies is their object. My love to Nelly, and compliments to all friends. I am, etc.[61]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Saturday, October 31, 1778.

Parole India. Countersigns Italy, Ipswich.

At a General Court Martial held at Fort Clinton, October 23rd, 1778. Colo. Poor, President, Nathan Nuthall, Quarter Master to the 3rd. No. Carolina Regiment was tried for behaving in an infamous manner unbecoming an Officer and a Gentleman also for embezzling the public Stores and applying them to his own use; found guilty and unanimously sentenced (agreeable to the 1st. Article of 12th. section of the Articles of War) to forfeit all his Pay and be dismissed the service.

The Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders it to take place immediately.

The North Carolina Brigade to hold themselves in readiness to march at an hours warning.

[61] The text is from Custis's *Recollections of Washington*.

To COMTE D'ESTAING

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 31, 1778.

Sir: I have had the happiness of receiving your Excellency's letters of the 23 and 26th. I thank you for the extract of Mr. Boubee's letter, which Yr. Excellency so obligingly communicates. This particular enumeration of the vessels of war which sailed with the fleet he mentions, corresponds with the advices I have received; but you will have been informed before this, that the supposed sailing of a body of troops in that fleet was a mistake of the same nature into which my observers fell. It was however the most natural one, that can be imagined, and such as might impose itself on the most careful circumspection. I have the honor to inclose copies of four letters which contain the most recent and authentic information I have collected.

I shall not be surprised if in a little time, Admiral Byron should make a demonstration before the harbour of Boston; deriving confidence from the superiority of his force. His apprehensions of Your Excellency's activity may suggest this measure to cover the movements which the Enemy are making off the Coast.

Your Excellency's sentiments give value to my own, on the utility of some well combined system of fortification for the security of our principal sea port towns. The predatory war, which the enemy threaten, and have actually carried on in several instances, and which they no doubt have the disposition, when they have the opportunity, to repeat, give additional force to the other reasons for a measure of that nature.

I impatiently expect the arrival of Mr. Holker[62] to confer with him on the important objects with which he will be charged.

[62] John Holker. He was agent for the French marine and French consul to the United States, and later purchased horses for Rochambeau's army and became a partner with Robert Morris in private commercial enterprises. Proscribed by the French Revolution, he remained in the United States, married, and died in Virginia.

I shall cautiously observe the secrecy you desire. Colonel Hamilton's high respect for Your Excellency cannot permit him to be insensible to so flattering a mark of your confidence and friendship, as the exception in his favour affords.[63]

I received a letter yesterday from the Marquis. He gives me to hope the pleasure of seeing him tomorrow. He also intimates that Lord Carlisle has not only declined his proposition for the present; but, by a prudent foresight, has provided against the necessity of reviving the question at any future period. With the warmest esteem, etc.[64]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT

Head Quarters, October 31, 1778.

Sir: I have received your two favours of the 29th. and 30th. with their inclosures. All the intelligence I can get from every quarter still leaves me in absolute doubt as to the intentions of the enemy. There are two points which would decide more than every thing else and which are yet quite unascertained, though, they appear to be of such a nature, as to admit of an easy discovery. These are, the actual State of the magazines of forage and wood in the city; and whether there are any

[63] D'Estaing wrote that Holker would communicate interesting objects. "I entreat you," said he, "not to confide the secret but to Colonel Hamilton. His talents and his personal qualities have secured him ever my esteem, my confidence, and my friendship. I do not regret having given the Marquis De la fayette some presentiment of this matter; nevertheless as much my friend as he is, I should not have done it, if I had thought that his stay at Philadelphia would have been so long."

[64] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton, who has noted that there were inclosed an "extract from a letter of Lord Stirling of the 29th. with one inclosed from a Spy signed L. dated 25th. another of the 30th. and another of Major Lee of the same date." The originals of all of these are in the *Washington Papers*. Also D'Estaing wrote: "If I determine to put to sea, which I have had it in my power to do for several days past, I will not get under sail, until it shall be demonstrated, that if the English Admiral is coming here, I shall meet him on the way; and that I shall contribute to the surety of the town of Boston, more efficaciously, than if I should remain moored where I am." Hamilton has indorsed the draft of the Washington letter: "returned by Mr. Holker the Count having sailed."

measures going on to lay in a fresh supply for the Winter, and the preparations of the merchants attached to the army in packing up their goods &ca. There is one particular house that of Coffin and Anderson, which ought to be well attended to. I wish you to instruct all your spies, to endeavour to fix these matters; and if they do their duty they cannot fail.

There is one part of Major Lee's letter,[65] which you will be pleased to get him to explain. He says. "One fleet of transports with ten regiments and heavy baggage have fallen down to the Watering place. Another fleet fully laden are about falling down &ca." This leaves it uncertain, whether this second fleet was laden with troops, or with something else, perhaps stores or the like. If any good account could be obtained of the number of transports in the harbour, at the Watering place, at the city, or any other place, it would be extremely useful; but this I am sensible will be difficult.

Major Lee mentions that some of the inhabitants of West Chester have been armed to apprehend deserters from the enemy. If this fact is certain, it were to be wished means could be fallen upon to detect some of them and bring them off, that they might suffer the punishment due to their wicked presumption.

You mention in your letter of the 29th. the necessity of your leaving the service. I am convinced that nothing but necessity could induce you to take this step; and I assure you, my Dear Sir, I sincerely regret that it should exist; and that the army should lose so valuable an officer. Though nothing would give me more pleasure than that some expedient could be fallen upon to reconcile the situation of your private affairs with your continuance in the service; yet if this cannot be the case, you cannot be expected to make an absolute sacrifice of the former

[65] This letter, dated Oct. 30, 1778, is in the *Washington Papers*.

to the latter. It will however be necessary for you to make application to Congress as it does not rest with me to accept the resignation of a general officer.

Some circumstances have lately come to my knowlege, which confirm suspicions I have some time past entertained, that the parties employed to go on Long Island on pretence of procuring intelligence are mere plundering parties. I have lately heard that Capt. Leavensworth[66] and Lockwood[67] have been selling at Stamford, several kinds of cloths, linnens, ribbands, some cases of knives and forks, wine glasses &ca. which they brought from Long Island, and that they made a distinction in the sale between hard money and paper money. That they have frequently done the same, extending it even to articles of women's wearing apparel. All this they pretend to be the property of tories, New levy officers &ca., which if even true is nevertheless unpardonable, because this was never intended to be the business of their incursions upon the Island. But I suspect their rapacity makes very little distinction between friends or foes. As I would wish to have these practices fully developped that the punishment may be adequate to the guilt, I am to request you will take effectual measures to have full inquiry made into them, in as cautious a manner as possible, so as not to give an alarm. I should be glad you could trace them to the source. Norwalk, Stamford and Bedford are mentioned as the places of sale. At Bedford a Mr. Anderson formerly a printer at New York may throw light upon the affair. You had best send prudent officers in whose discretion and integrity you can confide to those places to make the inquiry. If you could even manage, so as to have it extended to Long Island and could bring some

[66] Capt. Eli Leavenworth, of the Sixth Connecticut Regiment.

[67] Capt. Samuel Lockwood, of the Second Continental Artillery. He resigned in February, 1779.

of the sufferers to support the fact, it would be desirable. So soon as you have sufficient reason to think the matters I have mentioned confirmed; You will have Captns. Lockwood and Leavensworth arrested and conveyed to Head Quarters. Inclosed I send you a letter for Major Gray, which you will seal and send him.[68] I am etc.[69]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL LOUIS LE BÈQUE DU PORTAIL

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, October 31, 1778.

Sir: I have received your favour of the 20th., inclosing your remarks on the state of the fortifications already erected for the defence of the Town of Boston,[70] and on such amendments and additions as appear to you necessary to render them effectual. Your reasonings and observations appear to be strong and well founded; but at this distance, and without so perfect a knowlege of the local circumstances of the place, as I could wish, I cannot undertake to judge absolutely of the plan you propose. I have referred the consideration of it to General Gates, who is appointed by Congress to take the command at Boston, and who will no doubt adopt every measure proper to be taken on the occasion. You will be pleased to communicate with him on the subject.

Though I think very little is to be apprehended at this late season, with respect to an operation against Boston; yet as it is a possible event, and as your presence would be very useful,

[68] "It has been intimated to me that several persons, have gone over to Long Island, under the pretext of gaining intelligence, and indiscriminately distressed and plundered the inhabitants. . . . You will prevent any persons whatsoever from making excursions to the Islands and only employ those as spies or observers, in whom you can place a proper confidence."—*Washington to Maj. Ebenezer Gray,* Oct. 31, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[69] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[70] Du Portail's scheme of fortification for Boston is filed with his letter of October 20 to Washington in the *Washington Papers.*

should it happen, your determination to remain there some time longer, till the point is better ascertained, is agreeable to me. I have it however much at heart that the security of Philadelphia should be better provided for than it now is, so that as soon, as the question concerning Boston is decided, I shall be glad to see you, that you may repair to Philadelphia. I have the honor etc.[71]

To COLONEL WILLIAM MALCOM

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, October 31, 1778.

Sir: I have been favd. with yours of the 22d. 24th. and 29th. with the several weekly Returns inclosed.

The Commissary will take care to keep up the proper supply of provision for the Garrison. He tells me he sent a person over at the time I mentioned it, who procured the necessary returns from your Commissary for his information.

The Barracks now built and to be built in the Fort will be for about two thousand Men, including Artillery Artificers and all the persons necessary to the Garrison.

I have approved the Sentence of the Court Martial against Nuthall Qr. Mr. to the 3d. No. Carolina Regiment.

It appears by a representation made to me by Major Painter[72] that the Court Martial by which he was tried was irregularly constituted. By the 7th. Article of the 14th. section of the Articles of War, "No Field Officer shall be tried by any person under the Rank of a Captain." Several of the Members were Subs, and I have therefore been obliged to direct the Adjutant Genl. to order a new Court not of the Garrison but of the line, as Major Painter hints at partiality in his former trial. He can have no occasion to complain again should his sentence be the same.

[71] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[72] See General Orders, Oct. 13, 1778, and Oct. 28, 1778, *ante*.

Our accounts from New York are so various that I can form no opinion of the intentions of the enemy. One day we are told that the Merchants are generally packing up their goods for a removal, the next that the City will be garrisoned for the Winter. If you have any means of communication be pleased to direct any persons who go in, to visit the Stores of some of the capital Merchants, who are attached to the British Army and who will not therefore dare to remain behind. There is one House in particular, that of Coffin and Anderson, who supply the Army and will go wherever the Bulk of it goes. let their motions be especially watched. You will give such other directions for observation as your own Judgment shall suggest. I am &ca.[73]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters near Fredericksburg, October 31, 1778.

Sir: Your Excellency's favor of the 23d Inst. was delivered me yesterday, with the Resolution respecting Monsieur L'Eclise.[74] As soon as I am notified of the place of his residence, I will give the necessary directions, for carrying into execution the humane and benevolent intention of Congress towards him.

I take the liberty to inclose a Letter from Doctor Connolly,[75] representing his situation. His case I am persuaded will have due attention and such a determination, as humanity and policy will justify.

By intelligence received yesterday evening it is said, that Transports with Ten Regiments on Board had fallen down

[73] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[74] Dominique L'Eclise, a Canadian. He had served General Schuyler as a spy and had been imprisoned by the British and his property confiscated. By a resolve of October 23 Congress granted him $600 to pay his debts and $60 and one ration a day "during the pleasure of Congress." The name was also spelled L'Eglise.

[75] Dr. John Connolly. His letter of October 16 is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

from York to the Watering place; that there were several other Ships laden (not said with what); and that there were Others at the Wharffs, taking in Troops. I cannot tell whether this intelligence is certain; for we have been deceived of late in points of information, that seemed to carry equal marks of authenticity. I have the Honor, etc.

P. S. Just as I was closing my Letter, I received one from Lord Stirling dated yesterday at 9 O'Clock A. M. by which he informs me that on Wednesday and Thursday about Eighty sail of Ships, chiefly Transports with Troops, fell down from New York to Staten Island and that Sixty or seventy sail lay there before.[76]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GĀTES

Head Quarters, November 1, 1778.

Sir: I received yesterday, your favor of the 28th. Ulto, and was sorry to find you were in want of flour. I had a Letter written immediately to the Commissary upon the occasion, and from his account, I hope you have obtained a supply before this. He says three or four parcels had gone from Danbury for Hartford in the course of the Week, and that more was on the road from Fredericksburgh. Besides these supplies, he adds, that he had four Hundred barrels at Fish Kill for Eastern purposes, of which he had notified the Quarter Master General, who would put them in motion without loss of time. As to seizing flour belonging to private persons, I have no authority for the purpose. When the wants of the Army absolutely compell the measure, it must be justified on the principle of necessity.

The inclosed Extracts from Lord Stirling's Letters of the 29th. and 30th. Ulto. contain my latest advices, respecting

[76] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

the movements of the Enemy. I have similar intelligence from other Quarters, and it would seem, that a few days must certainly point out the part, the Enemy mean to take. I am etc.[77]

[N.Y.H.S.]

To LORD STIRLING

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 1, 1778.

My Lord: I have been favd. with yours of the 26th containing your opinion upon the cantonment of the Army, and of the 29th. and 30th. with a variety of information. Matters seem drawing very near a Crisis, and a few days will in all probability determine our doubts. In a letter which I recd. from General Scott last evening, he mentions, that a report prevailed in New York that Jamaica was taken and that Rum and Molasses had rose to a very extravagant price in consequence. If West India produce has taken a sudden start, may it not be owing to the purchases of speculators, upon a prospect of an evacuation. They must be sensible of the high prices of sugars, liquors &ca. among us, and the certainty of making a vast profit should they be able to sell them to the Country at large. It is not however impossible but another stroke may have been struck by France in the West Indies, and is a fact worth making particular inquiry after. I am etc.

P. S. Could you procure me one of Dollonds best pocket telescopes from New York you would oblige me. I will furnish the Amt. in hard Money.[78]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN PATERSON

Fredericksburg, November 1, 1778.

Sir: I received your favor of the 28th. Ulto. I do not mean to place your Brigade on a different footing from the rest of the

[77] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[78] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Massachusetts or the other Troops in the Army. In my Letter to General Gates of the 27th. I advised him according to the information I had received, and which I was then and am now told was derived from yourself, but a little time before the Army left the White plains, that you had procured Cloathing for your Brigade, by particular applications, from a different channel. This I also understood you had not delivered, and that you had determined when at the plains to keep it for some time; and therefore I added, that where this was the case, there could not be a double supply, by permitting another draught from the Stock at Springfield. Supposing the above facts to be true, and on which I request your Answer, my restrictions were certainly right as being founded in principles of equal justice, and conformable to the general system of conduct used thro the whole line. Your Brigade was more particularly mentioned than any other Troops because the information respecting it was more particular; but the restrictions was designed to extend to all Troops in the same predicament. If you have Cloathing which has not been delivered, you may return it to the Cloathier if you choose it, and draw from the Stock in his hands; or if it has been delivered, you may still give it in, and obtain from him a new supply. All I had or have in view, is to put the whole Army in the same situation. I am etc.[79]

To CHEVALIER LA NEUVILLE

November 1, 1778.

Sir: I just now received your favor of the 30th Ulto, and am exceedingly obliged by the very polite terms, in which you are pleased to express yourself. As I applaud your zeal and the motives, which brought you to this Country, I cannot but regret,

[79] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

that the circumstances of the Army did not afford you more satisfactory opportunities of serving. I am persuaded if they had, you would have improved them in a manner, that would have done honor to yourself, and justified the confidence reposed in you.

I shall consider myself happy in seeing you before your departure, and am, etc.[80]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 2, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am honored with yours of yesterday inclosing an Act of the legislature of your state empowering the Commissary, under certain restrictions to seize all Wheat, Flour or Meal in the hands of Forestallers, or Wheat of the year 1777 and years preceding. I have, immediately in the absence of the Commy. Genl., transmitted this salutary law to the Asst. Commy. General who is with the Army, that he may without loss of time, proceed to put it into execution.

I have also recd. the report of the Senate, setting forth their suspicions of the mal-practices of some of the deputies in the Commissary's office, and recommending an inquiry into their conduct. I am exceedingly obliged for the hint, and every thing shall be done on my part, towards endeavouring to discover so pernicious a system of villainy. However, before I take any steps in the matter, I shall be glad, if possible, to be furnished with some clue tending to fix the matter upon some person or persons. If the inquiry is set on foot in a general and vague manner, perhaps those who are really guilty may contrive means to perplex their accounts and cloak their villainy in such a manner that it will be difficult to detect them. I shall be obliged by being

[80] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

furnished with any lights you may be able to throw upon the foregoing, as early as possible, and the more secretly it is done the better, for obvious Reasons.

Our accounts from New York are various and perplexing. They however all agree in this, that a very considerable body of troops have been embarked, and were laying at the Hook the 30th of last month. Whether the embarkation was finished, or whether it would end in a total evacuation, I cannot, notwithstanding every endeavour, determine. It is the general opinion of the officers nearest upon the lines, that the evacuation will be total, but they can only form their conjectures from the accounts of deserters and people coming from the City, who are often deceived by appearances. The season is so far advanced, that the fleet will never lay long in their present situation. When they have sailed (if they do not all go off together) the remainder must make such preparations and dispositions as will plainly indicate whether they intend to winter in New York. I am &c.

P. S. The deputy Commy. informs me that he had before the Rect. of yours ordered some salt into the Country for the purposes you mention,[81] and that upon your recommendation he will increase the Quantity.[82]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 2, 1778.

Dear Sir: General Gates having been ordered by Congress to repair to Boston and take the command of the Eastern district; I have thought it best, that you should proceed to Hartford and take the command of the division late General Gates, consisting

[81] Clinton suggested that the Continental commissaries trade salt for flour, and Washington wrote (November 2) to Royal Flint: "you will consider this proposition and give your sentiments on its expediency."

[82] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

of Poor's, Patterson's and Learned's brigades. This you will, therefore, be pleased to do without delay. The standing order for that division is that it is to remain at Hartford 'till further orders from me, or till the arrival of the enemy's fleet to the Eastward shall demonstrate that they intend a serious land operation that way; in which case you are to advance and give me instant notice of it, as it is my intention on such an event to proceed immediately Eastward.

You will communicate to General Muhlenberg[83] on whom the command of your division will now devolve, whatever instructions you have received from me respecting it, and whatever other information may be necessary for his government.[84] I am, etc.[85]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Monday, November 2, 1778.

Parole Kaminec. Countersigns Kenderhook, Kings-bridge.

As the Campaign is drawing to a Close and the Commander in Chief is desirous of affording the Officers an opportunity of seeing their Friends and Families as far as it can be done consistent with the publick service; The Brigadiers and Colonels commanding Brigades are requested to grant Furloughs to the officers of their respective Commands under the following restrictions, viz, to one Field Officer of each Regiment and to one Commissioned Officer of each Company at a time: They are

[83] On this same day (November 2) Washington wrote briefly to Brig. Gen. Peter Muhlenberg that Gates had gone to command at Boston and that Putnam would replace him at Hartford.

[84] On November 7 Washington sent Putnam brief, but specific, instructions to hold the troops at Hartford ready to march at the shortest notice: "But as putting the troops in motion, in our present condition of supplies, is a matter of serious consideration you will not assume this measure without the information which you may receive from Genl. Gates, is clear and decided."

[85] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

not to be given to a greater proportion of Officers at once and in this only but when there will remain two Field Officers and two Commissioned Officers to each Regiment and Company respectively, except there should arise cases of very pressing and extraordinary nature of which the General Officer having the General command of the Post, Division or Detachment in which the Officer requesting such Indulgence is, is to judge and to act as he shall think proper.

As the Length of Furloughs must depend upon the Circumstances of distance and some other Considerations, the General cannot prescribe the time for which they are to be granted, but He most fully confides that they will be given only for a warrantable time, that the Officers remaining may experience like Indulgences in Succession and to which they will have an equal Claim upon every Principle of Justice and Generosity.

As the troops are about to receive new Cloathes the General hopes and expects that the Colonels and the rest of the Officers will give particular attention to their preservation as well for the sake of their own reputation and the appearance of their Corps as the great difficulties which attend the procuring them, and that they may be the better preserved, He enjoins in the most pointed manner that after their delivery, Company Rolls be kept of the same with proper Columns for each Article; That these be examined at least once a Week by an actual View of the Articles and that every deficiency and loss unless satisfactorily accounted for, and every neglect of sufficient Care in the soldiery, be punished with proper severity, according to former Orders. To all of which on this subject there is to be a strict regard.

The General also hopes that the Officers will pay constant attention to the Cleanliness and Dress of the men and the fitting of their Cloaths in the first instance, without those they

must be sensible that they can never assume the Air of soldiers or appear to the least advantage.

After the troops have received new Cloathes the Officers commanding Regiments are to be very careful in causing the proper Officers to make the earliest delivery of the old (that is of the Coats Jackets and Breeches) fit for service to the Cloathier for which they are to obtain two Receipts; one to be kept for their own justification the other to be returned to Head Quarters.

The old Cloathes are to be well aired and the Cloathier is to have them packed in secure Casks, keeping an account of the uniforms and the whole together as far as circumstances will permit.

That Casks may not be wanting for this purpose the old cloathes are to be returned in those which carry the new to the several Brigades.[86]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Tuesday, November 3, 1778.

Parole Alderney. Countersigns Acton, Artois.

The Pennsylvania Brigades to hold themselves in readiness to march at an hours warning.

The Deputy Cloathier General will exert himself to have the Cloathing that is returned in carried to Fish Kill as soon as possible. The Officers now in Camp to procure Cloathing for the

[86] Gates forwarded to Washington (November 2) a memorial from the officers of Poor's, Paterson's, and Learned's brigades, then at Hartford, on clothing and the return of old clothes. "That returning the old rags, and Cloaths of the soldiers, at this period; in order to obtain new, would not only in many respects be taking away the Private Property of Individuals without their Consent, but would in other cases put the soldiers on a very unfair and unequal footing; and in its consequences naturally tend to destroy one of the greatest Virtues in a soldier, for it is a general rule and a known fact, that those who have received the most Cloaths from the Publick, have now the least to return." Gates's letter is in the *Washington Papers*. (See *General Orders*, Nov. 7, 1778, *post*.)

several Brigades, are desired to use all possible dispatch in drawing their respective quotas and sending them off.

AFTER ORDERS

The Park[87] to move as soon after the order of March is given them as their horses can be brought to Camp from their several Forage Yards.

*To PATRICK HENRY

Fredericksburg in the State of New York,
November 3, 1778.

Dr. Sir: Your favor of the 15th. Ult. came to my hands by the last Post. Soon after the date of my Letter giving you an acct. of Captn. Henry's[88] having left the Service, I was informed (upon further enquiry after him) that he had gone no further than Elizabeth town in the Jerseys and was there rather distressed for want of money, having been indisposed at that place for some time. Colo. Bannister being then in Camp, and just setting out for Phila., was requested by me, and very readily undertook, to furnish what Money he wanted; and in other respects help him on to Virginia; this was about the middle of Septr.; since which I have not heard of him, but hope he is with you ere now.

The Enemy have Imbarked a considerable part of their Troops at New York, and the transports have fallen down to the hook; the Imbarkation still continues; but there is no evidence, so conclusive, as to lead to a demonstration that they mean a total evacuation; the proofs are equivocal, and will apply to a general, or partial one. A short time, perhaps by the

[87] Of artillery.
[88] Capt. John Henry, of the First Continental Artillery. He had resigned in August, 1778.

end of our days of Grace (the 11th. Instt.)[89] matters may be reduced to a certainty. I have little doubt in my own Mind, but that the greatest part of the Troops Imbark'd, and Imbarking at New York, are destined for the West Indies and their Posts. Boston and Charles Town are also talked of but with no other view, I conceive, than to perplex and confound the judgment; and yet, so far as any collateral enterprizes (in pursuance of their Predatory and Nefarious plan) can be undertaken subsurvient to, and correspondant with their more enlarged and important views, I have little doubt of their attempting them. For if motives of policy do not restrain, sure I am that those of generosity and humanity will not prevent them from committing as much devastation as they can upon our defenceless towns, Country Seats, and helpless Women and Children; resentment, and unsoldiery practices in them, now seems to have taken place of all the Manly virtues; as I wish self interest, in the shape of forestalling, Engrossing &ca. may not do among us, if not checked in time by well applied and vigorous Laws in the several States. I am, etc.

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, November 3, 1778.

Sir: In my Letter of the 29th. Ulto. I transmitted you a Copy of a Resolution of Congress, directing the removal of the Convention Troops; a Copy similar to which had been forwarded before to General Heath. By a Letter from him of the 28th, he asks whether it may not be best for their Heavy baggage to be sent by Water. It appears to me that it will, and it may be

[89] November 11 was the time limit fixed by the Peace Commissioners' Manifesto and Proclamation of October 3 on which submissions to Great Britain would be received.

water-borne, as far as the falls of James river. If the Troops have flag Vessels of their own at Boston, or the Officers choose to provide 'em themselves, the baggage, except such as they may judge necessary to take with them, had better go in them; If otherwise, you will be pleased to direct proper ones to be provided for the occasion. In either case, it will be right for General Philips or Generals Riedsel and Hamilton, as well as yourself to sign and countersign as circumstances may require, the passports which it will be necessary to furnish. I should also suppose it advisable for One or more of their own Quarter Masters to go with the Vessels. I have also written to General Heath upon the subject, in case this should find you still at Hartford.

I am this minute favoured with your Letter of the 28th. and regret the captivity of so good an Officer as Captain Goodall,[90] but I cannot direct the Commissary to give him the preference that you request. There are many other Officers of merit prisoners, who have experienced a much longer confinement. Were I to postpone their releasement, I should subject myself, at least, to their complaints, and to a charge of partiality. It has been a rule with me, which has never been deviated from by my order or consent in a single instance, to have prisoners exchanged, both Officers and privates, according to the priority of their capture, as far as the circumstances of rank and number would apply; and this appears to me to be founded in principles of equal justice and the only one that will or can give general satisfaction. I am etc.[91] [N.Y.H.S.]

[90] Capt. Nathan Goodale, of the Fifth Massachusetts Regiment. He had been wounded and taken prisoner at Kingsbridge, N. Y., Aug. 30, 1778; was exchanged in October, 1780; transferred to the First Massachusetts Regiment in June, 1783; served to November of that year.

"His Excellency requests you will, in the first flag boat from New York, forward the baggage belonging to Capt. Goodale."—*McHenry to Lord Stirling*, Nov. 3, 1778. McHenry's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[91] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, November 3, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have been favoured with your several Letters of the 23d, 26th. and 28th. Ulto., the first and last of which came to hand last night and this morning.

On the 29th. I wrote you of the difficulties that attend the procuring of flour. The Commissary I am persuaded, does not leave a step untried to obtain supplies; but it will be at least, immensely difficult to do it The loss of the Biscuit was an event foreseen by many and what might be reasonably expected. The Enemy did not intercept any of our Convoys of provisions, while they were in Jersey as you had heard.

With respect to the removal of the Convention troops, the Resolution of Congress which was transmitted you, requires the measure and points out the only condition, on which they could have remained. I was nothing more than a mere vehicle, an Instrument in forwarding of it, that it might have the intended operation. It will be certainly best for their baggage to go by Water into James River, from whence it may be transported to the Falls and from thence to the places where the Troops are to quarter.

If they have flag Vessels of their own at Boston, or choose to provide them, the Baggage had better go in them; If otherwise, you will direct proper Ones to be provided for the occasion. In either case, it will be prudent for you and General Philips, or Generals Riedsel and Hamilton, to sign the passports, which it will be necessary to furnish. I should also suppose it adviseable, for one or more of their own Quarter Masters to go with the Vessels. I am etc.

P. S. My Letter of the 29th. inclosed a Copy of a Resolve of Congress appointing General Gates to command in the Eastern

district. I transmitted him a Copy of the Resolution directing the removal of the Convention Troops, and write him by this conveyance upon the subject of their baggage, in case he should be at Boston.[92] [MS.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 3, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have your favr. of the 31st. Ulto. inclosing Major Talbots Account of the capture of the Schooner Pigott.[93] It was really a well concerted plan and gallantly executed. Be pleased to present my approbation and thanks to the Major, his Officers and Men.[94] The enemy's fleet consisting of 150 sail of transports lay at the Hook the 31st. Ulto. It is the general opinion that the evacuation of New York will be total; but I cannot say I have had sufficient evidence to convince me that it will be so.

I sent a Letter for the Marquis de la Fayette to your care about the beginning of October. Be pleased to say whether it reached your hands, and whether it was delivered to the Marquis before he left Boston or Providence. I am etc.

P. S. I have just heard that nine ships and a Brig left the Hook a day or two ago, said by a deserter to be bound to Rhode Island.[95] [N.H.H.S.]

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[92] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[93] Neither Sullivan's letter of October 31 nor Talbot's account are found in the *Washington Papers*.

[94] Maj. Silas Talbot, of the First Rhode Island regiment, on October 24 in the sloop *Hawke* captured the schooner *Pigot* in the eastern channel of Narragansett Bay. For this exploit he was praised by Congress and promoted to lieutenant colonel by a resolve of Nov. 14, 1778. Talbot had been twice wounded in action previous to this and was made a captain in the Continental Navy in September, 1779; captured several prizes and was captured by the British in 1780; exchanged in 1781; served to close of the war.

[95] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

On November 3, Washington directed in brief notes to Cols. Henry Jackson and John Crane that the resignations be accepted of Lieut. John Jackson and Ensign William Barber, of Jackson's Additional Continental regiment, and Lieut. [Zaccheus] Dunnell, of the Third Continental Artillery. The drafts of these letters are in the *Washington Papers*.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Wednesday, November 4, 1778.

Parole Lorrain. Countersigns Lancaster, Lebanon.

A General Court Martial of the Line whereof Lieutt. Colo. Williams[96] is appointed President to sit tomorrow morning nine o'Clock at Genl. St. Clair's late quarters, for the trial of all Persons brought before them.

Three Captains from the North Carolina Brigade, four from the 1st. Pennsylvania and five from the second to attend as Members.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Thursday, November 5, 1778.

Parole Broomsgrove. Countersigns Breed, Belfast.

The Pay Masters of Regiments and Corps are to apply to the Pay Master General immediately for the Months of August and September's pay.

A Field Officer from the Maryland Line to relieve Lt. Colo. Ball[97] who is superintending the Hospitals at and near Fish Kills. Lieutt. Colo. Ball will furnish him with the Instructions.

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 5, 1778.

Dear Sir: I shall be exceedingly obliged to you for information, either from your own knowledge or that of others, whether

[96] Lieut. Col. William Williams, of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment. He resigned in April, 1780.

[97] Lieut. Col. Burges Ball, of the First Virginia Regiment. He was taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., and prisoner on parole until retired in February, 1781.

there is a possibility of marching a Body of troops from the head of Susquehannah, across the Country to Niagara. Among many other Routes pointed out for carrying the War into the Indian Country, when circumstances will permit, the above has been mentioned as one. The distance appears upon the Map, to be shorter than almost by any other way, but I have my doubts of the practicability of the march, never having heard of any road or passage leading to the lakes through that quarter, I mean for a body of Men with necessary Baggage and Stores. I shall be glad of your answer upon the above as soon as possible, as I want to form an opinion from a comparative view of the most accurate accounts. The particular advantages to be derived from the above mentioned Route would consist in the opportunity of destroying several Indian settlements in the way, and of avoiding Lake Ontario upon which the Enemy have a naval force. I am &c.[98]

To COMTE D'ESTAING

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, November 5, 1778.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit your Excellency an Extract of a letter from Major General Lord Stirling of the 3rd. by which you will perceive, that a fleet of One hundred and eight sail, left Sandy Hook the morning of that day. This probably contains a division of the troops, the departure of which we have so long expected.[99]

[98] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

On this same day (November 5) Washington wrote again to Governor Clinton "that the inhabitants of Minisink are under apprehensions of another visit from the Enemy" and that he had ordered the Second New York Regiment to march to such place as Clinton should direct.

"You will march as expeditiously as possible to the place appointed, and upon your arrival take such measures for your own security and the safety of the Country as shall seem most proper to answer both purposes. I wish you success."—*Washington to Col. Philip Van Cortlandt,* Nov. 5, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[99] On this same day (November 5) Washington wrote to Major Generals Gates and Sullivan, sending this same information of the sailing of the fleet and forwarding printed copies of Congress's Manifesto of Oct. 30, 1778, on retaliations.

The Marquis De La Fayette, arrived three days since at Fish Kill two and twenty miles from this place; where, I am unhappy to inform Yr. Excellency, he is detained by a fever which seized him soon after he sat out from Philadelphia. I hope our anxiety on this account may not be of long duration.

The inclosed letter from our Commissary of Prisoners[1] is just come to hand. With the utmost esteem, etc.[2]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT

Head Quarters, November 5, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have yours of yesterdays date, with its several inclosures to acknowledge; and those of the 2d. Inst. and the 31st. Ulto.

It is not my desire to detain you longer than the time necessary for making the proper communications to the Officer who is next in command, and who will succeed you till I may find it proper to make another arrangement. You will therefore open to him the train of obtaining intelligence, the persons you have employed, and every circumstance which you think may lead him to conduct this particular duty with utmost secrecy, latitude, and precision. I could wish however that you may have yourself the satisfaction of completing the present command in the possession of New York.

I have ordered Colonel Bland's Regiment to take another situation, and instructed the Colonel on this subject. I am, etc.

P. S. You will please forward the letters for New York immediately by flag.[3]

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[1] Probably the letter of November 1 from Commissary General John Beatty, which is in the *Washington Papers*.

[2] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[3] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

To COLONEL THEODORICK BLAND

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 5, 1778.

Dear Sir: Congress having determined to remove the Troops of the Convention from the neighbourhood of Boston to Charlotteville in Albemarle County Virginia, an Officer of Rank and prudence will be necessary to regulate and conduct their march. I must desire you to undertake this duty. The first division of the troops was to have marched off yesterday, and will be followed by four others, at proper intervals. I would wish you to lose no time in coming up here, as the sooner you set out to meet them, the better. I intend your Regiment shall go immediately into Winter Quarters, I have not determined upon the place but it will be either in Frederick Town Maryland or Winchester in Virginia. You will therefore put them upon their march, with their Baggage, by the most direct Route to Frederick Town. When the Regiment has arrived at the place of Cantonment, I have no objection to granting Furloughs for the Winter to those men whose times of service are near expiring and who will reinlist upon such terms. I am told Major Jameson would have particular influence in reengaging the Men, otherwise I should imagine he would be able to give you very great assistance in conducting the march of the troops. If you think Lt. Colo. Temple would answer the purpose as well as the Major, he may proceed with the Regt. and the Major come up with you, otherwise he may go on. Be pleased to bring up a subaltern Officer with you, who may follow the Regiment with particular orders for the place of Cantonment &ca. Should any of the Men of Colo. Baylors Regt. be upon the lines, you are to march them with your Regiment until you cross the

North River and then direct them to repair to Bristol in Pennsylvania, where the Regt. is assembled.[4] I am &ca.[5]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM PHILLIPS

Head Quarters, November 6, 1778.

Sir: I was favoured with your Letter of the 29th Ulto. by Captain Masters.[6]

The several packets which he had in charge have been sent into New York, but from recent and particular resolves of Congress I could not comply with your intention respecting Captain Masters's interview with General Clinton. He has however made his application in writing for an exchange, and waits in this neighbourhood for his Excellency's answer.

Your cares for the troops of Convention on their present march, are such as discover the attentive commander; while your expressions of politeness claim my personal respect. I shall endeavor, during the continuance of their march to confine its inconveniencies to such as are unavoidable, or that cannot be obviated by any arrangement of ours at this season of the year.

For this purpose I have appointed an officer of rank to attend the march, and commissaries and quarter masters to meet the troops, with such other dispositions as appear necessary on the occasion.[7]

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[4] On this same day (November 5) Washington also wrote a brief note to Maj. William Washington, of the Fourth Continental Dragoons, ordering him, contingently, to Bristol to take command of Baylor's Dragoons and march them into winter quarters. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[5] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[6] Capt. Richard Master, of the Twenty-fourth Foot, British Army.

[7] "Col. Bland who is appointed to superintend the removal of the Convention troops will set out to-day on this service. His Excellency mentioned to you the providing of a quarter master to attend the troops on their march. . . . You will be pleased Sir to notify the Gentleman of your appointment of Col. Bland's intention to set out to day,

I make no doubt but your officers will accommodate their minds to the change and conform the discipline of their soldiers to the prevention of disputes, either with their conductors, or the countries thro' which they may travel.

The resolution of Congress directing the removal of the Convention troops to Charlottesville, includes in my opinion, its officers under every description; And in this sentiment I have written to Major General Gates who now commands at Boston.

It is natural, the desire you express for a sight of your friends for the settlement of private affairs, and a moment of free communication with those at a distance; but Sir the proposition which you have been pleased to prefer to me on this subject, must come directly and in the first instance before congress. I have the honor etc.[8]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Qurs., November 6, 1778.

Sir: On Wednesday Evening I received your Excellency's favors of the 30th. ulto. and 1st Inst. with their several inclosures.

I will direct the best and cheapest disposition I can, to be made of the Cavalry for their accommodation in Quarters and will instruct the Forage Master on the occasion.

The remittance to the Pay Master which you mention, I presume has come to hand, having been applied to by him, to issue an order for the payment of the Troops for August and September.

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and that it is his Excellencys pleasure he should accompany the Colonel. You will also be pleased to communicate his name; When he will be ready and where he may be found."—*McHenry to Greene,* Nov. 8, 1778. McHenry's letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[8] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

I have transmitted the Letter from Nicholas Dupui and others, with the Affidavits to His Excellency Govr. Clinton and have ordered Colonel Cortland to march with his Regiment towards the Minisinks and to take such Post as the Govr. may point out.

I have made a distribution of the Printed Manifestoes, and there is no doubt, but the Enemy will very soon be possessed of some of the Copies, and of news Papers that contain them.

By a letter from Lord Stirling, of the 3d Inst. he informed me, "That the Fleet at the Hook the preceding day, increased to 108 Sail, and that morning at seven weighed Anchor and stood out to Sea." I am impatiently waiting for further advices from New York and to learn whether any other, and what movements are likely to take place. I have the honor &c.[9]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 6, 1778.

Sir: I am led to believe, by a letter from Major Genl. Phillips,[10] that he may not, in consequence of the late Resolve of Congress, have recd. orders to remove to Virginia with the Convention Troops. He had been for some time past, for particular reasons, confined to the limits of his House and Garden by Genl. Heath, who informs me that he received the approbation of Congress for so doing, and upon requesting the opinion of the president how long he should continue these restrictions, he recd. the following answer on the 13th Septr. "I apprehend Congress conclude that you will continue in force your order respecting Maj. Genl. Phillips until he shall have made such

[9] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

[10] General Phillips had requested that Lieut. George Preston Vallancy, of the 62d Foot, be permitted to go to New York for clothing for the Convention troops, and the subsequent correspondence had resulted in Phillips being confined to quarters on account of the tone of his letters.

concessions as shall be satisfactory to your own honor as commanding Officer of a department in the service of the United States." By a letter from Genl. Heath himself, he seems to doubt the propriety of Genl. Phillips's removal, untill the terms mentioned in the president's opinion have been complied with: But as the Resolve for the march of the troops is general and subsequent to the opinion above cited, I think it may be inferred that Genl. Phillips is included, and that if he should not have left Cambridge, that he be permitted and directed to follow the Troops. I am &ca.[11] [N.Y.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 6, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have your favor of 30th ulto. by Captn. Master, who waits in this Neighbourhood until he can hear from New York, having written to Sir Henry Clinton in order to effect his exchange. A Resolve of Congress lately passed put it out of my power to indulge his wish of going in himself.

From part of Genl. Phillips's letter I am led to believe . . . .[12]

I have mentioned this matter to Genl. Gates, upon whom the Command at Boston has by this time developed, that if Genl. Phillips should have remained behind, he may be directed to follow the Troops.

I thank you for your caution in concealing the route[13] from the officers of the Convention, altho', in the present situation of the Enemy's affairs, I do not think any danger is to be apprehended. I am &ca.[14] [MS.H.S.]

[11] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[12] The omitted portion is the same in sense, though not in words, as that in Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, the same date as this letter, *q. v.*

[13] In a memorandum, dated Nov. 5, 1778, by Royal Flint, the route of the Convention troops from Springfield, Mass., to Fishkill, N. Y., is given as Enfield, Suffield, Simsbury, New Hartford, Norfolk, Canaan, Sharon, Beekmans Patent, and Fishkill. This memorandum is in the *Washington Papers*.

[14] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 7, 1778.

Sir: I am honoured by yours of the 28th. I had, previous to the receipt of it, determined upon such a disposition of the troops for the Winter, as will serve the purposes you mention. As soon as the intentions of the enemy are more clearly known, I shall fix upon the places of cantonment and assign the troops to their respective stations. A Fleet of upwards of 100 sail left the Hook on the morning of the 3d, supposed to be bound to the West Indies. I cannot ascertain the number of troops on board. Whether a further embarkation from New York is to take place this fall, I am not able yet to determine, but as we have spies upon their motions I expect soon to learn that they are preparing for it. I am &c.[15]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Saturday, November 7, 1778.

Parole Carthagena. Countersigns Cambray, Condè.

At a Brigade General Court Martial held at Camp near Hartford by order of Brigadier General Poor, October 31st. 1778, Colo. Hazen, President, Lieutenant David Gilman of the 2nd. New Hampshire Regiment was tried first for ungentlemanlike behaviour in associating with Private Soldiers and offering them a reward of twenty dollars and engaging to secure them from harm, in case any should arise in consequence thereof, if they should take up and bring to him a Horse. 2ndly. for taking

[15] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

two Stray horses the Property of private Persons and converting them to his own use without making any Publication thereof, much to the Prejudice of the service and to the good People of The United States, unanimously found guilty, sentenced to be cashiered and rendered incapable of ever serving the United States again as a Military Officer and forfeit all his Pay that is now due to him.

The Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders it to take Place immediately.[16]

At a Brigade General Court Martial held in the Corps of Artillery by order of Brigadier General Knox, October 29th. 1778, Lieutenant Colo. Stevens,[17] President; Captain Moody[18] of Colo. Lamb's Regiment of Artillery was tried for disobedience of orders and contemptuous behaviour, found guilty of the Charges exhibited against him, and the Court are of opinion that Captain Moody should be reprimanded in Brigade orders.

The Commander in Chief confirms the opinion of the Court and orders the sentence to take place.

Captain Lilburn Williams[19] of the second Maryland Regiment is appointed Pay Master of the same.

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[16] "I have approved and confirmed the sentence and shall direct its publication in this days orders."—*Washington to Brig. Gen. Enoch Poor,* Nov. 7, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[17] Brevet Lieut. Col. Ebenezer Stevens, of the Third Continental Artillery. He was lieutenant colonel of the Second Continental Artillery, Nov. 24, 1778, to rank from April 30, 1778; served to June, 1783.

[18] Capt. Andrew Moodie (Moody), of the Second Continental Artillery. He served to June, 1783.

[19] Capt. Lilburn Williams, of the Second Maryland Regiment. He was transferred to the Third Maryland Regiment in January, 1781, and retired in January, 1783.

Col. Nathaniel Gist claimed the right to command Brigadier General Scott's corps when Scott left, but Washington decided that Col. David Henley was entitled to it. Scott was directed in a brief note (November 7) to make Henley "acquainted with the different Channels through which you have obtained intelligence and communicate to him the orders which you received for the government and duties of the light Corps. I want to see Col. Butler upon particular Business; be pleased to ask him to ride up." This note is in the *Washington Papers.*

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Sunday, November 8, 1778.

Parole Nuremberg. Countersigns Namure, Narva.

The order of the 2nd. instant directing a delivery of the serviceable old Coats Jackets and Breeches to the Cloathier after the troops should have received new ones was not meant to comprehend such as had been procured by the soldiers themselves either by purchase or Donation, or such as had been paid for by Stoppages out of their Pay; Those which were to be the object of delivery now call'd for on the recommendition of the honorable the board of War as from a view of our supplies at the time the measure was considered as founded not only in Policy but strict necessity, as providing the best source for relief to the soldiers themselves against Accidents that might attend the Importation of future supplies as well as to those whose unhappy lot it might be to become the subjects of hospitals and others of the Army for whom some provision in this instance would have been indispensable. However as our quantity of new Cloathing fortunately turns out better than it was at first apprehended and of course removes in some degree the necessity which dictated the measure and as the old remaining in the hands of the soldiers will contribute much by a careful use and application of them on duties of fatigue &c. to preserve the new, the order of the 2nd so far as it respects a return of them to the Cloathier is dispensed with. But such Cloathing viz, Coats, Jackets and Breeches as have been received either thro' the hands of the Cloathier or Agents or thro' the States on Continental Account and which has been delivered in the course of the Fall or that may remain undelivered is not to be comprehended under the description of old and must be returned to

the Clothier or Agents of the department in Case new ones are drawn, to prevent Injustice to the Public by obtaining double supplies and to the Troops themselves who otherwise would be upon an unequal footing.

The General expects a pointed attention on the part of the officers to this order, and also according to former instructions to their mens cloathing and that they will not only extend their Care to its' Cleanliness but to prevent any Misapplication of it.[20]

To MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL

Head Quarters, November 8, 1778.

Dear Sir: As I am obliged to go from Head Quarters this morning on business of consequence, I am under the necessity of giving a very short answer to your Letter of the 3d. Inst. which was only presented to me just now.

Your reasoning as to the improbability of the Enemy's operating to the Eastward was very strong, and your views of the difficulties that would attend the quartering of the Whole Army on this side the North River, are certainly well founded and coincide much with my own.

I think Colo. Putnam had better send for the Cloathing of his Regiment, as the want of it tho' but a very short time may be attended with bad consequences to the Men. With respect to furloughs to privates, I have granted none, and it is contrary to my intention that any should be given, till matters are more decided and some general system adopted for the purpose. I will take into consideration the mending of the Roads which you mention. If you have not moved towards Woodbury, you

[20] On November 8 Washington, having gone to Fishkill, Tilghman wrote to George Measam, informing him of the great need of shirts and asking for a return of the shoes, hats, and blankets wanting by the three brigades at Hartford. "They shall be sent back by the returning teams." Tilghman's letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

may as well remain where you are if you can do it with any conveniency, as a few days must point conclusively to the post your Troops must take.[21]

You will give General Nixon permission to visit his family. I mention no time for his absence, being persuaded he will make it as short as he can, as other Officers will have occasion for a like indulgence.

If the Troops are ordered to move to the Westward, I shall not have the smallest objection to your visiting Mrs. McDougall, or if from her indisposition, for which I am extremely sorry, you prefer going now, it will be perfectly agreeable to me. As to myself, I had rather you should go immediately than wait the event of the Troops marching.

The proceedings of the Court Martial cannot have my attention till I return.

On the 3d. in the Morning a fleet of 108 sail put to Sea with Troops on board, and there are accounts, how authentic I cannot determine, that there are other movements on foot or appearances that indicate them. I am etc.[22]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON

Head Quarters, November 8, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am informed by Genl. Scott that some boatmen, belonging to your brigade who were imployed by Lieutt. Brewster[23] in navigating from the main to Long Island, have been remanded to their Regiments, in consequence of which a service of a particular nature is very much impeded if not intirely stopped.[24] The names of the men Gen. Scott tells me are David

[21] At this point the draft has: "If General Parsons or General Huntington is returned," which phrase appears to have been omitted from the letter as sent.

[22] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[23] Lieut. Caleb Brewster, of the Second Continental Artillery.

[24] This service was an armed whaleboat, commanded by Lieutenant Brewster, which brought spy communications from Long Island to Connecticut.

Dickinson, Fochanah Hawkins, Benja. Dickinson, Jonathan Kinner and Joshua Davis. I beg that you will order them back to their late duty under a careful and attentive sergeant. I am &ca.[25]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT

Head Quarters, November 8, 1778.

Dear Sir: I received your favor of the 7th. with its inclosure last night thro' the hands of Cornet Wells[26] with whom it was sent.

I think you had better advise the person who communicates to withold his name from his letters or else to assume a false signature. But I do not see the necessity of any name so long as the writing is known by the parties.[27]

The letter which accompanies this will procure the stay of the men employed in navigating to and from Long Island. I am etc.[28]

To COLONEL WILLIAM MALCOM

Head Quarters, November 8, 1778.

Sir: I received yours of the 5th. inclosing a weekly Return of the Garrison.

If you will make a Return of your Regiment and send an Officer up to this place he can have compleat suits of Uniform,

[25] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

[26] Cornet James Wells, of the Second Continental Dragoons. He was promoted to lieutenant in June, 1779.

[27] On November 9 Scott again wrote to Washington: "The letter which I sent you by Cornet Wills was from Sir, John Bolton the person whom Majr. Talmadge Recommended To Your Excellency Some time ago. there will be no Dainger of his being discovered. I do not know his Propper Name my self, for neither of those are." (John Bolton was the name assumed by Tallmadge in managing the secret correspondence.) Scott's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[28] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

Shoes and Stockings and a proportion of Hatts and Blankets. Let your Return specify the exact number of the two latter Articles already in the Regiment. There are no Shirts at this time in the Store, but they are daily expected. The Uniforms are Blue and Red and Brown and Red, either of which you may have.

You may, if you think it is proper, put all things in readiness to take up the Chain and Boom. I do not think there is any danger of a Visit from the Enemy this Fall, but still there is no need of running any Risque by taking it up before there is a necessity for it. I am &ca.[29]

To COLONEL THEODORICK BLAND

Head Quarters, November 8, 1778.

Sir: You are hereby appointed to superintend the removal of the convention troops from the State of Massachusetts to Charlottesville in Virginia. You will therefore proceed immediately on the shortest route to Enfield, or to where the first division of the troops may have arrived, and announce yourself to the Officer commanding. You will then dispatch Major Jamison, who is directed to assist you in the execution of this duty, to the rear of the troops, to see that the necessary provisions and arrangements are made for the intermediate and successive divisions.

A proper escort of Militia from the State of Massachusetts is to attend the troops to Enfield, at which place they will be relieved by the militia of Connecticut, previous notice being given to have them in readiness. You will take care not to dismiss the old guard till relieved by the new. The Militia of Connecticut are to proceed as far as the North River where they

[29] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

will either be relieved by a guard of Continental troops, or New York militia.

During the march you will have respect to the quarter Masters who are appointed to attend the troops and see that their haulting places are convenient for cover and accommodation. You will also have regard to the Commissaries, so that good provisions be distributed and at the proper times.

You will accommodate the stages of march to the state of the weather, the condition of the troops, and the nature of the country through which they travel.

You will attend to the complaints which may arise and obviate them as far as possible.

The annexed route will bring the Troops as far on in their march as Fish Kills. You will then be furnished with a new route for your direction thro' the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and to their place of destination in Virginia.

As soon as you meet the first division of the troops it will be necessary for you to give me notice, that I may form a judgement of the time at which they may arrive at the North river.[30]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL BENJAMIN TEMPLE

Head Quarters at Fredericksburgh, November 8, 1778.

Sir: Colonel Bland having been ordered upon another Duty, you will take the command of the 1st. Regt. of Dragoons and march them immediately by the shortest Route to Winchester in Virginia, at which place they are to be quartered for the Winter. You will collect and carry with you all the Men, Horses and Accoutrements belonging to the Regt.

[30] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry. Royal Flint's memorandum of route for the Convention troops is copied at the bottom of the page. (See Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. William Heath, Nov. 6, 1778, *ante*.)

When you have passed the Delaware at Coryell's Ferry you will send the Regiment forward under the command of the senior Officer and proceed yourself to Philadelphia. Upon your arrival there you are to wait upon the Board of War and inform them, that the present terms of inlistment of the greater part of the men are near expiring, and that you have good Reason to suppose that many of them will reinlist upon being allowed a Furlough for the Winter to visit their Friends. Inform them also of the Value of the Men who compose the Regiment, who should not be lost for want of the indulgence they require. If the Board approve the plan you will apply to them for instructions and Money to pay the new Bounty.

You will at any Rate have a number more Horses than Men during the Winter, you must therefore direct the men that remain to take care of as many as they conveniently can, and quarter the remainder upon the neighbouring Farmers.

You will make use of all possible means to have the Horses put in good order and to have the accoutrements repaired.

You will constantly, while you have the command of the Regiment see that a sufficient number of Officers remain with the Regiment to superintend the Men and Horses.

After you have arrived at Winchester and informed yourself of the number of Men who will reinlist, be pleased to make me a Return of them and of the state of the Regt. in other particulars.[31]

To COUNT PULASKI

Poughkeepsie, November 10, 1778.

Sir: Your favr. of the 6th. was delivered to me at Fishkill by Mr. Gerard. I am sorry your indisposition deprived me of the pleasure of seeing yourself.

[31] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Upon consulting Govr. Clinton, of the State of New York, upon a position, in which your Corps can be employed to advantage, and at the same time be plentifully subsisted in the Article of Forage, he advises the Minisink settlement upon Delaware. You will therefore be pleased to march immediately for that place, and take your Station as near Cole's Fort as you conveniently can. Let your Cavalry and Infantry be quartered as near together as possible, that you may, in case the Indian Enemy make any attempt upon the settlement, draw your force quickly together. I must beg you to make use of all means to keep your Corps from marauding or in any way distressing the Inhabitants, who will cheerfully contribute every thing to your support if properly demanded. There are two Gentlemen of particular influence in that Country, Mr. Depui[32] and Mr. Van Camp, who will assist you very much in procuring Forage and other necessaries. I am &ca.[33]

*To JOHN MITCHELL[34]

Fredericksburg, November 11, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have been favoured with your Letter of the 3d. and have received the three Table Cloths which accompanied it; as also the Bear skin, which I accept, and thank you for. The

[32] Benjamin Dupuy (Depui, De Puy), of Minisink, and Isaac(?) Van Camp, of Albany County, N. Y.

[33] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

On November 10 Washington wrote to Col. Philip Van Cortlandt countermanding the order to march his regiment to Minisink: "If you should have marched, you may return. When you have fixed upon a position, be pleased to inform me of it, that I may know where to address any future orders." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Count Pulaski recommended Count Kolkowski (Kotkowski) to Washington as a brave and useful officer, who he wished in his legion. Washington, in turn, because of the recommendatory letters from Franklin and Deane, introduced Kolkowski to Congress in a brief letter, dated Nov. 18, 1778, which is in the *Washington Papers*. Congress commissioned Kolkowski a captain in the legion Dec. 10, 1778. (See Washington's letter to Count Pulaski, Nov. 24, 1778, *post*.)

[34] Colonel and Deputy Quartermaster General, then at Philadelphia.

Trunks will do, tho if they had been a size smaller I should have liked them better. the four Table Cloths which preceeded the three above mentioned, are not yet got to hand. I would not have you trouble yourself to procure another Bowl; the one I have, can, I believe, be mended.

Colo. Fitzgerald seems to doubt whether Mrs. Washington can get to Philadelphia without the Springs which Mr. Custis (unluckily) prevented his getting; I have therefore, as the Season is growing cold, and the Roads getting bad, to request the favor of you to send them on by a Special Messenger, along the following Rout: Wilmington, Christeen, head of Elk, lower Ferry on Susquehanna, Baltimore, and Bladensburg; by doing which, if Mrs. Washington should have set out, as I have desired her to do if it be praticable and along that Road they will meet. The Springs may then be fix'd at P.

Upon her arrival in Philadelphia I must beg the favour of you to give me notice of it by the lay Expresses, that I may send for her, if my own Quarters for the Winter should happen to be fixed up; But as this is not the case yet, and I do not know when it will be, I cannot, under the uncertainty of her stay in the City, think of accepting yours and Mrs. Mitchells kind and polite Invitation to her to lodge with you; the trouble of such a visitor (for more than a day or so) being too much for a private family but I shall be equally thankful to you for providing good lodgings for her as I do not know how long it may be necessary for her to remain in them. Her Horses you will be so good as to send to the Public Stables (most convenient).

I wish the report of the reduction of the Island of St. Vincent may be true, and think the Troops at New York might be as usefully employed in defence of their possessions in the West Indies, as where they are; but, Ministry I suppose judge otherwise. My best respects to Mrs. Mitchell, I am, etc.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, November 11, 1778.

Sir: On Wednesday afternoon I received a Letter from the Honble. Mr. Lee and Mr. Lovell, of the Committee for foreign affairs,[35] inclosing a plan and sundry Resolutions of Congress for attacking Canada the next Campaign, in conjunction with the forces of his most Christian Majesty;[36] and requesting my observations upon the same to be transmitted to Congress, and a Copy to be delivered to the Marquis De la Fayette.[37] These dispatches, thro' the indisposition of the Marquis, who unfortunately was seized with a fever in his journey from Philadelphia, which still detains him at Fish Kill, were prevented coming to hand till that time, and the great importance and extent of the subject they comprehend, would not permit me the honor of an earlier communication of my sentiments.

I hope Congress will excuse my not complying with that part of the Resolution, which requires me to deliver a Copy of my Observations to the Marquis, as the manner in which I am obliged to treat the subject, opens such a prospect of our wants and our weaknesses, as in point of policy ought only to be known to ourselves.[38]

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[35] Dated Oct. 27, 1778. It is in the *Washington Papers.* (See note 45, p. 243, *post.*)

[36] For this plan see *Journals of the Continental Congress,* Oct. 26, 1778.

[37] In the *Washington Papers,* filed under date of December, 1778, is a folio document in Washington's writing, which lists 10 subject heads of a proposed report on this expedition against Canada, all of which are developed in this letter of November 11. (See illustration, p. 402.)

[38] This important letter to Congress, one of the most important that Washington wrote to that body, exists in two forms in the *Washington Papers.* 1. The first rough draft in Washington's writing, which is somewhat disconnected and may be, in reality, parts of several different drafts. 2. The completed draft in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter which was signed and sent to Congress, which is the text given above, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.* Because of its importance the first rough draft, in Washington's writing, is here printed in footnote form in so far as the variations seem of value. The words in brackets were those first written by Washington and afterwards crossed out. An attempt has been made to

I am always happy to concur in sentiment with Congress, and I view the emancipation of Canada as an Object very interesting to the future prosperity and tranquility of these States; but I am sorry to say, the plan proposed for the purpose does not appear to me to be eligible, under our present circumstances. I consider it as my duty and what Congress expects from me, to give my reasons for this opinion, with that frankness and candour, which the importance of the subject demands; and in doing this, I am persuaded, I shall not fail to meet with their approbation.

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connect the variants of the draft with their proper places in the finished letter, but the result can be no more than approximate.

"An appology for so often twarting the views of Congress by exposing the difficulties attending the execution of *several* plans proposed by them. duty, requires a candid representation of facts from me the weight of which Congress will judge of. Reason of the Delay.

"Under the present uncertainty respecting the Enemys operations and views, the exhausted State of our Magazines and finances, the immense difficulty of getting Provisions, even from hand to Mouth, infinitely more so to lay up a Store of it, especially of Salted meat which would be absolutely necessary in the execution of the Plan concerted by Congress; the expiration of Service in a number of Men before next June; the distressed Situation of our officers and the consequent resignations which I much fear will take place at the end of this Campaign. The impracticability of Wintering Troops upon the Mohawk and upper parts of Connecticut River without exhausting every necessary supply of Provision for the ensuing Campaign [a knowledge lately come at of this circumstance but] renders the Plan proposed by Congress too extensive, too complexed, and too arduous to be entered upon with a probability of success; much less to [do it in concert] warrant a contract for them with a foreign power tenacious perhaps of Her own views in entering into such an engagement and jealous of her own honour undr. any disgrace or disappoinmt. arising from us. Suspecting ours, or our want of Military knowledge and ability to concert [impracticable] Schemes or want of means and power to execute them from either of which causes disgust and fatal consequences may follow. Congress no doubt are better acquainted with the State of European politics than I am for unhappily I have no means of information and have good ground to fix the number of French Ships for this Service at of the Line and frigates but from my uninformed view of the matter I shd. look upon them as sent to inevitable destruction if the Expedition into Canada does not Succeed [in all its parts] or, to grace the Port of Quebec only if it should as they cannot get ent. again.

"The Plan proposed by Congress takes 12,600 Rank and file [besides Indians and Carpenters for Ship and Boat Building] great part of whom are to be at the posts designated this Winter; and to insure the remainder early in the Spring you are to call for a much greater number of Militia than are intended to be imployed [this, probably will give an inundation of Useless Mouths in the Supernumerary Officers and Privates who will desert you perhaps if when they come to be seperated from their own Officers wch. must happen in many Instances;] in the height of their Spring Seeding and Corn Planting; this [then] *may* add considerably to the consumption of Provision but supposing you only get the number wanted, when to these are added Comd. and Non comd. Officers, the Staff of the different Departments and their

It seems to me impolitic to enter into engagements with the Court of France[39] for carrying on a combined operation of any kind, without a moral certainty of being able to fulfil our part, particularly if the first proposal came from us. If we should not be able to perform them, it would argue either a want of consideration, a defective knowledge of our resources, or something worse than either; which could not fail to produce a degree of distrust and discontent, that might be very injurious to the union. In the present instance should the Scheme proposed be

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attendants, Sutlers, Carpenters for Ship and boat building, Indians, Batteau men, Waggoners, Bat Men and Servants and Women it will be found that your Number of Eaters will be little if any, under 20,000 and that this Provision except what goes by the way of Fort Schuyler is to be transported in Waggons or by Packhorses some hundreds of Miles the great part of which thro an uninhabited Country affording no other Forage but herbage. the difficulties and the expence attending which in the exhausted condition of the States, present depreciation of Money, and high prices of every Article is easier to conceive than describe and is well worth the most serious attention especially when we recur to (at least) the possibility of keeping up a respectable front on the Sea board, in addition to the above all of whom must be fed and cloathed.

"These difficulties, as far as I am capable of reasoning upon the Subject, are of such a nature and magnitude as to render an enterprize upon the large Scale proposed by Congress extremely precarious, of course an Offer to the Court of France under such Circumstances impoltitic and dangerous for nothing less than a moral certainty of fulfilling to a tittle every part of our Contract should induce us to call forth the strength of another People for Conquests.

"But conclusive as these reasons are to my judgment, I have one other wch. to me is unanswerable. But on this I shall beg to be silent, it is an important and delicate Subject and shall be left to conjecture, but may not the French subserve the purpose as well in the West Indies as Canada?

"When I argue upon the difficulties attending the extensive Plan of Congress, I am clear nevertheless for undertaking every thing that can in our present circumstances, be attempted with a moral certainty of Success with our own strength and would prepare accordingly as no bad consequences will follow if we do not involve others; the Winter may unfold New Scenes. the Spring may present New prospects, and if we should be left without an Enemy upon the Sea board, or small Garrisons only at New York and Rhode Island, or either; and the French can keep the Enemys Troops employed in the West Indies and to defend their dominion elsewhere, I have no doubt (if we can get over the difficulties on Acct. of Provision, and can obtain a better currency to our Money) but that something may be done next Campaign that will give permanent Peace to our Frontiers and circumscribe the Enemy within such bounds in Canada as to leave as little to apprehend from them till something more decisive can be achieved. The success of which, in a great measure, would depend upon the little knowledge the Enemy could obtain of the real projects in contemplation."

[39] That France was decidedly lukewarm in 1778 toward repossessing Canada is clear. (See the instructions to John Holker, Nov. 25, 1777, in *Doniol*, ii, 616, and Vergennes to Gèrard, Dec. 25, 1778, *Arch. Aff. Etr., E. U.*, 5, 142, a copy of which is in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.) Later this lukewarmness became adamant objection.

adopted, a failure on our part would certainly occasion in them, a misapplication of a considerable land and naval force, which might be usefully employed elsewhere; and probably their total loss. It is true, if we were at this time to enter into the engagement, we shall be every day better able to judge, whether it will be in our power to accomplish what would be expected from us; and if we should find hereafter, that our Resources will be unequal to the undertaking, we may give notice to the Court of France in season to prevent the sailing of the Troops and the ill effects, which might attend it. But, besides that a project of this kind could not be embraced by France, without its having an influence on the whole system of operations for the next Campaign, which of course would receive some derangement from its being abandoned, a renunciation of this could not fail to give a very unfavourable impression of our foresight and providence and would serve to weaken the confidence of that Court in our public councils.

So far from their being a moral certainty of our complying with our engagements, it may, in my opinion, be very safely pronounced, that if the Enemy keep possession of their present posts at New York and Rhode Island, it will be impracticable either to furnish the men, or the other necessary supplies for prosecuting the plan. They will not attempt to keep those posts with less than ten Thousand men and a considerable Navy. If it should be thought best, for the advantage of carrying on the expeditions intended, to forego any offensive operations against these garrisons and to leave them in quiet possession of such important places; we shall at least be obliged to provide for the security of the Country against their incursions and depredations, by keeping up a force sufficient to confine them within their own limits. It is natural too to suppose, that the people's expectations of being protected will grow stronger, in proportion

to the diminution of the Enemy's force, and the greater facility with which it can be afforded. They will hardly be content to continue in a state of alarm and insecurity from a force so inconsiderable, while the principal Strength of the States is drawn out in the prosecution of remote Objects. If this reasoning is just, we shall be obliged to have a larger force than the Enemy, posted in different places, to prevent sudden inroads, which they would otherwise be able to make at different points; and the number required cannot be estimated at less than 12 or 15000 men. This will be two thirds as large a force, as we have been able to raise and maintain during the progress of the War; as these calculations, both of the Enemy's strength and of our own, are meant to designate the number of effective rank and file.

If I rightly understood the plan in consideration, it requires for its execution 12,600 Men, rank and file. Besides these, to open a passage through a Wilderness for the march of the several bodies of Troops, to provide the means of long and difficult transportations by land and Water, to establish posts of communication for the security of our Convoys; to build and man Vessels of force, necessary for acquiring a superiority on the Lakes; these and many other purposes, peculiar to these Enterprises, which would be tedious in detail, will demand a much larger proportion of Artificers and persons to be employed in manual and laborious Offices, than are usual in the Ordinary course of military operations. When we add the whole together, the aggregate number of men requisite for the service of the ensuing Campaign, will be little less than double the number heretofore in the field; but to be more certain in the calculation it, may be placed at only one half more.

Experience is the only rule to judge by in the present case. Every expedient has been exhausted in the preceding

Campaigns to raise men; and it was found impossible to get together a greater force than we had; though the safety and success of the cause seemed absolutely to require it. The natural and direct inference therefore is, that the resources of the Country were inadequate to a larger supply. I cannot then see that we can hope upon any principle, to be equal to so much greater exertions next year, when the people and the Army appear to grow daily more tired of the War and the depreciation of our money continually increasing and of consequence proving a smaller temptation to induce Men to engage.

The State of our supplies for transporting and subsisting the troops, will stand upon a footing equally bad. We have encountered extreme difficulties in these respects, and have found, that it was full as much as we were competent to, to feed the Army we have already had and enable to keep the field, and perform the movements required by the contingencies of the service. It is not likely that these difficulties will diminish, but on the contrary they will rather multiply, as the Value of our currency lessens; and the enormous prices to which provisions have risen and the artificial scarcity created by monopolies, with what we have to fear from the effect of the same spirit, give us no reason to flatter ourselves, that our future prospects can be much better. In this situation of things we are hardly warranted to expect, that we shall have it in our power to satisfy the demands of numbers so much greater, than we have yet had to supply; especially if we consider, that the scene of our operations has hitherto been in the Heart of the Country furnishing our resources, and which of course facilitated the drawing them out; and that we shall then be carrying on the War at an immense distance, in a Country wild and uncultivated, incapable of affording any aid, and great part of it hostile. We cannot in this case depend on temporary or occasional supplies, as we have

been accustomed, but must have ample magazines laid up beforehand. The labour and expence in forming these, and transporting the necessary stores of every kind for the use of the Troops, will be increased to a degree that can be more easily conceived than described. The transportation must be a great part of the way through desarts, affording no other forage than herbage; and from this circumstance, our principal subsistance of the flesh kind must be salted, which would not only be an additional expence, in the additional consumption of so scarce and dear an Article as salt, but would greatly increase the difficulty both of providing and transporting. My Letter of the 29th Ulto., transmitting a Copy of one from the Quarter Master General, which I had the honor of addressing to Congress and to which I wish to refer, will point out the difficulties and daily expence attending our supplies of the Article of flour only, in our present circumstances, exclusive of its Cost, and lay the foundation for a sort of comparative estimate to be formed, of those that would attend the support of the Troops when employed at so great a distance.

If in addition to all this, we should have the French fleet to supply during the winter, the likelihood of which I have no sufficient information to ground a judgment upon; it will appear still more impracticable, to furnish the supplies requisite for the extensive operations proposed. But independent of this, the improbability of doing it is, in my apprehension, infinitely too great to justify the undertaking.

This reasoning is founded on a supposition that the Enemy do not evacuate their present posts at New York and Rhode Island; nor can we presume upon any past appearances so far as to determine the contrary, and enter into a national contract, the fulfilment of which, at any rate in my Judgment, will depend on this event. Opinions on the subject are various and the

arguments on both sides cogent; circumstances hitherto very indicisive. At Rhode Island, there is nothing that looks like an evacuation, that I have heard of; at New York, the length of time elapsed, since the event has been expected, which cannot be satisfactorily accounted for, makes it not a little doubtful and problematical.

But if it were even certain, that the Enemy would shortly leave these States, I should think our ability to carry on the expeditions meditated from the nature of the Country and the remoteness from the source of our supplies, joined to the discouraging State of our finances, too precarious to authorize a preconcerted agreement with a foreign power, binding ourselves to the attempt.

On the other hand, if we were certain of doing our part, a co-operation by the French would in my opinion, be as delicate and precarious an enterprise, as can be imagined. All the reasons which induce France and the United States to wish to wrest Canada and Halifax from the dominion of England, operate with her, perhaps more forcibly, to use every possible effort for their defence. The loss of them would be a deadly blow to her trade and empire. To hope to find them in a defenceless state, must be founded in a supposition of the total incapacity of Britain, both by land and sea, to afford them protection. I should apprehend, we may run into a dangerous error by estimating her power so low.

We have been informed, that a strong Garrison has been lately sent to Hallifax amounting by report to about 4000 men. A part of the detachments, which the Enemy are now making from New York are currently said to be, and in all probability are, destined for that place. If they evacuate intirely, a very considerable part of their force will no doubt go there; and, in any case we may expect, that reinforcements will be thrown from

thence into Canada, early in the Spring. The English are now greatly superior to the French by Sea in America; and will from every appearance continue so unless Spain interpose, an event which I do not know, we are authorized to count upon. However, as I am destitute of information with respect to the present state of European politics, this is a point upon which I can form but an imperfect judgment. But if it should not take place, I think it infinitely probable, from the maritime situation and advantages of Hallifax, which is represented as the finest port and best naval arsenal in America, from the security it is calculated to give to the general trade and possessions of Britain, both on the Continent and in the West Indies, that it will be a station for a larger naval force, than the one intended to convoy the french Troops. It will naturally be the principal rendezvous of the British Ships of War in America. If this position be admitted, should the English have any knowledge or even suspicion of the design of the French Court, to send a fleet up the river St. Lawrence, nothing will be easier than to intercept this fleet on its way; or to take or destroy it after it has gotten in.

Nor can we flatter ourselves with keeping this business a secret. Congress perhaps will be surprised to be told, that it is already in more hands than they suspect, and, in the progress of the negociation in France, it will get in many more. The preparations will announce the intention. It is indeed a part of the plan to avow the destination of the French Troops, though this is to be contradicted by the manner of their Cloathing &c. The Stationing Troops this Winter, as is proposed, particularly on the Mohawk and Connecticut river, would be unequivocal proofs of the design. It must at least excite the strongest suspicions; so as to put the English nation upon their guard, and make them take precautions to counteract it.

But if the French troops should arrive before Quebec, I think their success against that strong place, fortified by every advantage of nature and of art would be extremely doubtful. It is supposed this Capital post will be found in so weak a condition as to make its surrender a matter of course, owing to the Enemy's having previously drained themselves for the defence of Detroit, Niagara, St. Johns, Montreal &c. But we cannot depend that this will be the case. They may esteem it the part of prudence rather to sacrifice, or at least hazard the extremities in order to collect their strength at the Heart. Montreal indeed and the posts essential to it must be defended, because the possession of them would throw too large a part of the Country into our hands. But if reinforcements are sent to Canada early in the spring, a circumstance extremely likely, these may be attended to, without too far weakening the garrison of Quebec; and, as before observed, we cannot build upon their conduct's being regulated by an ignorance of our plans. The french troops instead of a coup de main would, in this case, be reduced to the necessity of carrying on a blockade.

I will now take the liberty to turn my attention towards the operations of our own troops.[40] The one against Detroit, I shall

[40] "The expedition to Detroit from Pittsburg I highly approve of being fully convinced from experience and observation that there is no way of opposing Indians effectually, but by carrying the War into their own Country and in the present Instance stopping the source from whence these disorders and blood shed flow with their Supplies which will be found to originate at the Enemys Posts near the Indian Settlements; but I cannot say that I see into the policy of avowing the intention, because the more covert we act the more distracted are the Enemy which is the great advantage that offensive measures have over defensive ones and where we have sevl. blows to Aim, and all very desirable, it is best to let them grope, for in that case, by paying attention to every place they are weak at all points where as by reducing one or two operations to a certainty you give a clue to the whole and enable them to make defences accordingly. Nor can I see how the Troops designd for Detroit are to form a junction with those at Niagara unless they subdue the Naval force on Lake Erie as well as the Garrison of Detroit which cannot be so as long as Niagara remains theirs the former being on the West and the latter on the East end of the lake distant Miles wch. is as far as it is from Pittsburg to Detroit and a much more difficult Rout by Land. The distance by Water is less but where are the Vessels? Detroit is upon the edge of the lake and if the Post cannot be defended, the Garrison will immediately

at present say nothing about; if well conducted, I should hope that place would fall without very great difficulty. The case is very different with respect to Niagara. This I am informed is one of the strongest fortresses in America; and can only be reduced by regular approaches or by famine. (In accomplishing this last war and a conquest as far as Montreal, I believe, General Amherst exhausted two campaigns, with all the advantages which he derived from the United efforts of Britain and America; with every convenience for water transportation, including plenty of Seamen, and with money that commanded every thing, which either Country could furnish.)[41]

The former mode would require great perseverance time and labour and an apparatus, which it would be almost impracticable to transport. The latter is practicable, but very difficult. To effect it we must gain a superiority on the lakes; the Enemy have already a respectable force there. If the suspect our design, which they cannot fail to do from the measures to be

ship themselves for Niagara, and with their Armed Vessels (two of which one of 16 and another of 18 Guns they have) scour the lake of Batteaus if you even had them to transport your Troops in

"The same reasons which lead me to approve the Expedition to Detroit operate equally forceably for one to Niagara but I have too little knowledge of the Rout proposed from Ochnaquaga and the object of that Rout to give an opinion upon the propriety of dividing the force that is to operate against Niagara and without there was some cogent reason for it I should be against it and for this Reason principally, that you may be beaten in detachment by the collective force of the Enemy against either of these bodies. As I have before said I have too little knowledge of the rout from Onaquaga to Niagara to give a decided opinion upon the practicability of a March with the necessary Apparatus for the reduction in that Post; from the Idea I entertain of the Country and a general description I have nevr. understood that Artillery could be transported and without this the Garrison could be reduced no otherwise than by famine. If the destruction of the Indian Settlements is the only end to be answered by the March this body of Troops the conquest of them will be as effectual by the possession of this Post as by any means whatsoever as it is in the heart of or rather covers their Country

"Under my present view of the matter I see no other way of reducing Niagara and making the Iroquois or Six Nations depandant upon us but by obtaining the Mastery of Lake Ontario."

[41] In the *Washington Papers* are eight folio pages, in Washington's writing, of extracts "Taken from the Journal of Lieut. Colo. Bradstreet's Expedition to Fort Frontenac in the year 1759," which Washington apparently copied out to further clarify his ideas as to this projected Canadian expedition.

taken, they may improve the interval in adding to it; and by providing materials and Artificers upon the spot, they may be able to increase it, so as to keep pace with us. It is therefore easy to see, that we ought not to be too sanguine in the success of this expedition; and that, if a moderate force be employed in the defence of Niagara, without degarnishing Quebec and the intermediate posts, its reduction will be a very arduous task.

The body of Troops to penetrate by way of the River St. Francis, must meet with great obstacles. They will have a march of about 150 miles from the Co-os which is about 160 beyond Hartford, a great part of which is through a hitherto uninhabited and tractless Country, with an immense train of Waggons. All the stores and provisions for the whole march and the future supply of the troops, at least till they should get footing in Canada, must accompany them from the beginning. The impediments and delays in such a march almost exceed conception. When arrived at the St. Lawrence, fresh obstacles probably would present themselves. The presumption is, that if the Enemy could not make head there, they would desolate the Country, through which we were to pass; destroy all the provision and forage, remove every kind of Water craft and demolish the materials for building Others. These precautions being taken on the Sorrell and St. Lawrence, would pretty effectually obstruct our progress, both to Montreal and Cadosoqui;[42] to say nothing of the rapidity of the current, and the numerous rifts between Montreal and Lagalette.[43] While we deliberately consider all the obstacles in the execution; and the difficulties we shall find in preparing the vast magazines required, which have been already enumerated, if within the compass of our Resources, we shall be led to think it not very improbable, that this body may

[42] Cadiroqui (Cataraqui), same as Frontenac, Canada.
[43] La Gallette (Lagalette), New York.

be unable to penetrate Canada, at least in time to co-operate with the French troops, if a co-operation should be necessary. The situation of these troops then would be delicate and dangerous. Exposed to a defeat from the United force of the Enemy; in great danger of having their retreat cut off by a superior naval force in the River, they would have every thing to fear.

On the other hand, if our operation should be as successful as we may flatter ourselves, a tempest or a British fleet may deprive us of the expected aid; and, at a critical moment, we may find ourselves in the bosom of an Enemy's Country, obliged to combat their whole force, with one inferior, and reduced by a tedious and wasting march. The five thousand men, when they arrived in Canada, would probably little exceed four capable of service, and would be still less, if, out of them we should establish posts as we advanced to ensure a retreat and to protect escorts of provisions, which must follow for future suport. Thus an accident in either case, would involve the defeat of the whole project, and the catastrophe might be attended with the most unhappy consequences to America.

The plan proposed appears to me not only too extensive and beyond our abilities, but too complex. To succeed, it requires such a fortunate coincidence of circumstances, as could hardly be hoped and cannot be relied on. The departure of the Enemy from these States, without which we cannot furnish the stipulated force or supplies to maintain them. Such a want of power or want of foresight in the Enemy, as will oblige them to neglect the reinforcement of Hallifax and Canada and prevent them, however conveniently situated, from disputing the passage of four Ships of the line and four Frigates up the River St. Lawrence, or attempting their destruction afterwards. Such a combination of favourable incidents, as will enable several bodies, acting separately and independently by Sea and land and from

different countries, to conform to times and periods, so as to ensure a co-operation; These and many other circumstances must conspire, to give success to the Enterprise.

Congress I am persuaded, had powerful reasons for fixing the convoy at the number they have, and their superior information respecting the affairs of Europe at this juncture, enables them to judge much better than I can pretend to do, of its sufficiency. But, from the imperfect view I have of the matter, I have been led in considering the subject, to look upon it as insufficient. From the general tenor of intelligence, the English outnumber the French in the Channel. In America, both on the Continent and in the Islands, they are greatly superior. If the last Toulon fleet is employed in the Mediterranean, the French may have the superiority there; but upon the whole the ballance of naval force seems hitherto to be on the side of the English. If we add to this, that the number of Ships of War in the french ports, built or building, bear no comparison to the number in the English ports; and that Britain, notwithstanding the diminution she has suffered, is still a Kingdom of great maritime resources, we shall be disposed to conclude, that the preponderance is too likely to continue where it is. The interposition of Spain indeed, would make a very interesting change; but her backwardness heretofore, seems to be an argument, that she is withheld from interfering by some weighty political motives; and how long these may continue to restrain her, is a question I am unqualified to determine.

Besides these general objections to the plan, which have been stated; there appear to me to be some particular ones, which I shall take the liberty to point out.

In the first place, I observe there are to be 5000 Militia employed in the two expeditions against Detroit and Niagara. The

drawing into service so large a number composed chiefly of Husbandmen, in addition to what may be found necessary for other exigencies on the Coast, at so interesting a season of the year, will certainly be very injurious to the culture of our Lands, and must tend to add to the deficiency of supplies. But this, though not to be overlooked, is not the principal objection. In the expedition against Detroit, Militia perhaps may answer, as it not a post of very great strength, and may possibly be abandonned on, or in a little time after the approach of a force, that cannot be opposed in the field, and the garrison proceed to reinforce that of Niagara; but even here, troops of another kind would be far preferable. However the case will be very different with respect to this last. It is, as I have before mentioned, one of the strongest fortresses of America and demands for its reduction the very best Troops.[44] Militia have neither patience

[44] "Laying it down as a Position that Militia are totally unfit for the enterprize agt. Niagara (which is of the strongest fortresses upon the Continent) and that, if the Enemy should not abandon their Posts, and thereby require any army below to watch their motions or dislodge them if possible, it will be impossible that Provisions and other necessaries for so extensive a Plan as Congress have sketched out can be provided and very precarious under any circumstances, therefore I would substitute in its place the following plan and proceed to the execution of it in the following manner.

"Without a moments loss of time (and this I have already given the necessary Orders for) Magazines of Flour and Salt Provisions should be laid up at Albany; and on Connecticut River from No. 4 abe. fort Charles to Newbury in the Co'os Country, and at the former, that is Albany *provide* every Material for Ship and Boat Building, Rigging, Guns &ca. &ca. should be provided. I would also form large Magazines of Flour and an adequate quantity of Salt Provisions at Pittsburg. The Troops in the meanwhile, except such as may be necessary for safe Guards to the Provisions and Stores at the above places to be cantooned (if Circumstances will admit) in such places as they can be easiest supplied, and with the least interruption to the forming of the Magazines here mentioned. By the time Troops could safely take the field in the Spring, we shall know how far the full views of Congress so far as depends upon our operations (for I am totally against connecting them with any other *operation* for the reasons already mentioned, and the consequences that might follow) can be carried into Execution; and thus far we proceed upon sure Grounds. If our resources and circumstances then combine we are thus far advanced into the Enterprize upon Canada on the large Scale, but If these should not warrant any capitol movement to the Northward, we may nevertheless extend ourselves from Pittsburg and the North Western Parts of the Frontier of this State into the Indian Settlements as I am fully perswaded that measures of this kind will be found most effectual indeed the only means of putting an end to Indian Ravages. lastly if in the possible event of the Enemy's

nor perseverance for a siege. This has been demonstrated by all the experience we have had. An attempt to carry on One, which should materially depend on them, would be liable to be frustrated, by their inconstancy, in the most critical moments. Agreable to the plan under consideration 3,500 out of 5,600 are to be Militia.

It is a part of the plan, that the Troops sent against Detroit, whether successful or not, are to form a junction with those at Niagara. It appears to me on the contrary, that the expedition against Detroit under the present arrangement, must stand on

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finding us full imployment in the interior parts of the Country it should be found that our Supplies must be drawn to that Quarter the Magazines will be very properly situated for a removal [anywhere] being on the Rivers and to be Water borne.

"Thus far in general. I will now take the matter up more in detail and begin with the Expedition from Fort Pitt, which I conceive to be indispensably necessary for the peace and safety of the Frontiers of Pensylva. and Virginia; being thoroughly convinced as I have before observ'd that there is no way of putting an entire stop to Indian depredations but by the destruction of their Towns removing them to a greater distance and cutting of their supplies. The most effectual way then of doing this remains to be considered.

"If the Expedition is conducted by the more direct rout to Detroit, it must stand solely on its own bottom; for it can neither give aid to, or receive it from, the Troops which may be employed at Niagara, as Congress [have proposed] seem to expect; but will be convinced of the impracticability of, by adverting to the distance between the two places (upwards of 400 Miles thro an almost tractless rout more than double the distance it is from Pittsburg to Detroit) and, that the Enemy have the entire command of Lake Erie by means of two Armed Vessels which they have there containing 16, or 18 Guns each with which they can stop all Transportation by Water. It appears then that the object of this expedition must be confined to Detroit and to the Indian Settlements in the surrounding Country, if Detroit is the primary object.

"But as it appears to me that the Possession of the Lake is of infinite more importance than the reduction of the Fort (the abandoning of the last being the inevitable consequence of the first) it is an object highly worthy of consideration whether some plan cannot be devised to effect this, for till Lakes Erie and Ontario are in our absolute Possession, or the strait between them at Niagara, which could not well be obtained, or supported, unless we become Masters of the lower lake, it is of little avail to proceed to Detroit; because that place of itself give no opposition to Cannon unless it is considerably strengthned since last Winter; being only a stockade and deriving its importance from its situation and contiquity to Lake Huron and upper Lakes and in as much as it forms the Chain with the Mississipi and its security from the Indians, and the reinforcements to be received from Canada; the common Garrison being under two hundd. Men. If the Enemy cannot oppose our Troops destined for this Expedition in the Field and on their March I have no doubt of their abandoning the Post (after destroying the Works) and Shipping themselves for Niagara upon their approach.

"To remedy this, and strike a more deadly blow, the lake should be our first object; and the Rout, as far as my present knowledge of the Country extends should be up the Ohio in Batteaus or Canoes (which may be built at Fort Pitt in the course of

it's own bottom, and have no other object than the reducing that place, and destroying the adjacent indian settlements. Lake Erie is certainly occupied by Two armed Vessels of Sixteen and Eighteen guns and it is said by five or six Others of smaller size, having two, three or four guns each, which while the Enemy hold Niagara, will prevent the communication of our Troops by way of the lake, to say nothing of the wañt of batteaus for transportation. A communication by land, must be performed through an extent of more than 400 miles, and a great part of this at least, under many disadvantages of route, and through tribes of hostile Indians.

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the Winter) to Wenango, thence up French Creek to where the French formerly had a Fort (all the way by Water) thence by a good carrying place 15 Miles and good Road to the Lake at at Prisquisle another old french fort [on the Lake] about Miles from Niagara from whence, if a superiority could be obtained on the Lake the Expedition to Detroit is rendered more easy, much safer, or could be directed in the first, or Second Instance against Niagara as circumstances may require; for I lay it down as an incontestable fact that if we once obtain the Mastery of Lake Ontario and the Fort at Niagara that all the Indians in the upper Country cease to be hostile as they must from that moment become dependant upon us. the Communication with the upper Lakes by the way of the River Outawais being (undr. my Conception of the matter) too intricate and round about for us to apprehend much danger from it till by a little breathing spell, we shall recover enough to extend our own views for further security, or contravene those of the Enemy, which may be directed to our injury.

"But to obtain this superiority is the difficulty as we are straitned for want of Guns and perhaps for want of every other article for the equipment for Vessells and are two Ships behind the enemy in the outsett and may presume that they can build as fast as we. There is no way of effecting this end, but by hanging out false appearances to mislead the Enemys attention and judgment; and this I think may in some measure be accomplished under these Idea's that to save the expence of Land Carriage from Fort Pitt, the Expedition will be conducted by Water down the Ohio to the River Scioto, up that to the small carrying place only 4 Miles and very good to Sandusky. this rout, so far from being chimercal, or even improbable, that I am not clear whether it is not the cheapest, safest, and most expeditious rout they can take to go immediately to Detroit; this therefore will acct. very satisfactorily for the building of the Batteaus or Canoes at Pittsburg and as [it is the desire I know] the opinion of Some of the Settlers on the East side the Ohio is that nothing wd. contribute more to deter the hostile Indians from crossing that River than [some] armed Vessells to be Sailing up and down to cut of the Retreat of those that did (tho I myself do not think that there is sufficient depth of water for the purpose or that the end would be answered if there was) yet this, or a hint that they were intended for some operation upon the Mississipi might with the unexpectedness of the real design sufficiently conceal it from the Enemy if none but the Commanding Officer of the Expedition is intrusted with the secret; and he under the strictest ties of honor enjoined not to reveal it. The kind of Vessels proper for the purpose of encountering such as the Enemy have upon the Lakes and the manner of building them, so as to be taken to pieces and transported

My knowledge of the Country is not sufficiently accurate, to enable me to discover the reasons, which determined Congress to divide the force destined against Niagara, and to appoint the march of one body from Ononguaga to that place. It seems to me however, that this disposition might be subject to one great inconvenience, which is, that if each column be not superior to the whole collective force of the Enemy, they risk being beaten separately and successively; besides the trouble and expence of preparing, as it were for two expeditions instead of one, of opening two roads instead of one, and the uncertainty of co-operation if no disaster should happen to either, at the moment when

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in bits must be determined by those who are more competent judges of that kind of Service than I am.

"I am equally strongly impressed with the necessity of an Expedition to Ontario and Niagara, and for the identical reasons which have [prevail] been assigned in the case last mentioned but do not see the force or Propriety of dividing the Troops intended for this Service on the contrary can See many capitol evils and a fatal consequence which may result from the measure, for if each of these columns is not equal to the whole Assembled force of the Enemy they beat you in Detachment; by opposing their whole force to first one, and then the other, of them; besides, you are at the trouble and expence of preparing for two expeditions instead of one. Opening two Roads instead of one and risquing the junction of these columns at a critical moment perhaps even if no disaster should happen to either. If the only object, is the destruction of [a few] the Indian Villages which [may] lye in the Rout between Ouchnaquaqa and Niagara I do not think the object is equal to the risque; the expence, and the difficulties which will attend the Seperation of the Troops designed for this general Service especially when it is considered that if we succeed in the [main] objects of these two Expeditions that all the Indian South of the Lakes lay wholly at our Mercy.

"As the door into Canada, by the way of lake Champlain, is barred by the Naval force which the Enemy have there, every advantage gained by the way of lake Ontario is a step into that Country, by the [only] most practicable rout through which a large body of Troops can be conducted for I consider the movement by the way of Co'os at an end, and the design of it accomplished when the Troops arrive at the St. laurence as the presumption is that the Enemy if they cannot oppose them in the Field that they will remove or destroy all Provisions within their reach, all Vessels, and every material for building Vessels thereby endeavouring to prevent their crossing either the St. Lawrence or River Sorrel, which if accomplished would be an effectual bar to their progress to Montreal and up the River to Caderauki if the rapidity of the Currant and the many rifts which lays between Montreal and la galette were not alone sufficient. The March of Troops however into Canada by this Rout will create a very powerful diversion, distract the attention of the Enemy exceedingly and answer many valuable purposes, for which reason they should secure themselves as they go as well for the purpose of retreat as advance and for the benefit of Convoys as it may be a Channel thro which great supplies of live meat may be drove for the purpose of feeding the Army wch. may have penetrated by the River St. Lawrence."

it might be necessary. The inquiries, I have as yet had it in my power to make, are opposed to the practicability of conveying Cannon in the route from Ononguaga to Niagara, or at least place it as a point infinitely doubtful; and without Cannon, nothing can be effected against that post. Upon the whole, the great matter essential to success against Niagara, is to subdue the Enemy's force on Lake Erie and Ontario, particularly the latter. This once done, and the Garrison by that means cut off from it's supplies, the fort will be likely to fall an easy prey. Here our effort should be directed; nor do I at present perceive the purposes to be answered by the body going from Ononguaga, unless the devastation of the intermediate Indian villages be the object, which perhaps might not be equal to the risk, labour and expence; and the more so, as they would fall of course, if we should succeed in the general operation.

The cantoning five Thousand troops this winter on Connecticut river, under our present prospects, will, in my opinion, be impracticable, and, in any case unadvisable. When I had the honor of writing Congress in September last, on the subject of a winter campaign into Canada, I had been led by General Bayley and other Gentlemen acquainted with the Country, to expect that very considerable magazines of provisions might be laid up, on the upper parts of that river; but it appears on experiment, that their zeal for the expedition had made them much too sanguine in the matter. The purchases fall far, very far, short of what was expected. The difficulties of transportation, as represented by the Quarter Masters and Commissaries, supported by facts that speak for themselves, are so great and complicated, that I should have no hope of our being able from remote parts of the Continent, to throw in the quantity requisite for subsisting these troops during the Winter and, at the

same time, of forming the Magazines which would be necessary to prosecute the expedition in the Spring. We may be endeavouring to form the Magazines; but the Troops cannot be on the spot this Winter; otherwise they will exhaust the provision, as fast as it can be collected. The same objection applies to the stationing troops on the Mohawk river.

In estimating our force for the next Campaign, it is to be considered, that upwards of Four thousand of the present Army will have compleated their term of service by the last of May next, and, that a great proportion of the remainder will have done the same about the close of the ensuing fall; unless they can be induced to reengage, of which the ill success of our present exertions to inlist those whose engagements are about to expire, affords but an unfavourable prospect. This and the general temper of the Officers, dissatisfied much with their situation, will suggest a strong argument against the extensive projects in contemplation.

In whatever point of light the subject is placed, our ability to perform our part of the contract, appears to me infinitely too doubtful and precarious, to justify the undertaking. A failure, as I have already observed, would involve consequences too delicate and disagreeable to be hazarded. But at the same time that my judgment is against this, I am clearly of opinion, that we should attempt everything that our circumstances will permit; but as the extent of our power must be regulated by many possible events, I would wish to hold ourselves free, to act according to either possibility, and as a clearer view of our future resources shall authorise. If the Enemy intirely leave these States, it will produce a vast change in our affairs and new prospects may open, of which we can at present have but a very imperfect idea. It would be a great step towards raising the value of our money, which would give a new spring to our

military operations. We may be able to undertake much more than we can now foresee.

If the Enemy attempt to keep posts in these States, a primary object will be to expel them, if in our power; if not, we must make proper provision to bar their depredations; and must turn our attention to the security of our frontiers, by pursuing such measures, as shall be within the reach of our abilities.

Though we may not be able to launch into so wide a field as we could wish, something upon a more partial scale may be enterprised. Detroit and Niagara may perhaps be reduced, though Canada may not be an accession to the confederacy. With a view to what is possible, preparations may be going on, and we can make such an application of them, as we shall find practicable.

As there is no time to be lost in doing this, I shall give the necessary orders, so far as relate to the article of provision, which indeed has been already done in part. Magazines of forage, materials for boat and ship building, and other articles must also be provided; which will depend on the final arrangements, and more definitive instructions of Congress. These measures will be necessary to be taken, whether the present plan is carried on, or whether something less extensive, depending wholly on ourselves, is substituted in its place. I shall wait the further orders of Congress for the government of my conduct, in delivering the plan to the Marquis, as their resolution seems to require; or in transmitting it immediately to Doctor Franklin, as the Letter to the Committee seems to direct.[45] At present I am under some doubt concerning the intention of Congress in this particular. I have the honor etc.

[45] The Committee for Foreign Affairs, the members of which who signed the letter to Washington (October 27) were James Lovell and Richard Henry Lee. The letter is somewhat ambiguous, but Washington properly chose so to consider it, as by following the instructions literally he would report his observations to Franklin and not to Congress.

P. S. I shall use every means in my power to obtain intelligence, in the points mentioned in the Resolution of the 26th Ulto.,[46] and had taken measures for the purpose, with respect to Canada before. Mr. Livingston,[47] an Officer in the Corps of guards will have the honor of presenting these dispatches to your Excellency. Their importance requiring more than a common Messenger, he very obligingly undertook upon application to give them a safe conveyance.[48]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 11, 1778.

Sir: I have been honoured with yours of the 19th, 27th, 28th and 29th Ulto. A tolerable supply of Shoes have lately arrived to the Issuing Clothier's Store from the Eastward, Pennsylvania and Jersey, and if the different persons employed in procuring that article will exert themselves to keep up the supply, I hope we shall not be much distressed during the Winter, provided we remain quietly in Quarters.

It is much to be wished that Congress would come to a speedy resolution concerning the procuring Cloathing for the Officers at a price in proportion to their pay, more especially as they were led to expect this from a Resolve which passed in November 1777. If the Cloathing itself cannot be conveniently procured, I

[46] The date should be October 22. Washington received the resolve on October 26.

[47] Lieut. Henry Philip Livingston, of the Commander in Chief's Guard. He was a captain of the Guard in December, 1778; resigned in March, 1779.

[48] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter was read in Congress on November 19 and referred to the committee on the letter of Marquis de Lafayette, who were Samuel Adams, Gouverneur Morris, and William Henry Drayton. A report was rendered and adopted by Congress on December 5, agreeing with Washington's conclusions and that Congress are "of Opinion that the General should be directed to write to the Marquis de la Fayette upon that Subject, and also to write to the Minister of this States very fully, to the End that eventual Measures may be taken in case an Armament should be sent from France to Quebec to cooperate therewith to the utmost Degree which the Finances and Resources of these States will admit." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Dec. 5, 1778; also Washington's private letter to Henry Laurens, Nov. 14, 1778, *post*.)

imagine the alternative of allowing an adequate sum of money in lieu thereof would be the next best expedient.

As the Board must undoubtedly have experienced the many difficulties arising from want of a proper arrangement of the Cloathier's department, I hope they will press the Committee who have the business in charge to bring in their report, that the new system may be carried into execution without loss of time. Whether it has been owing to want of conduct in the late officer, or his want of proper Powers and directions I will not undertake to determine; but the regularity in that department has been an endless source of trouble to me, and a great cause of discontent in the Army.

I have given the issuing Cloathier directions to keep an account of the marks and numbers of the Bales of Blankets and of the quality of their contents, from whence you will be able to trace from whom those small ones were purchased. When the issues are compleated you shall have the account. The directions to Mr. Mease were very proper. If any Corps want compleating, in any particular article, which is not to be procured here, I will sign the order myself.

In the present scarcity of Hatts, the Caps, of which you have forwarded a pattern, must be used by way of substitute. But an officer very attentive to the health of his men, informs me that he found an inconvenience from the use of Woolen Caps last Winter, instead of Hatts. When the men put them off in the Spring, they, many of them, took violent colds from the sudden transition. They also contribute to keep the Head dirty, than which nothing is more unhealthy.

I find it impracticable to carry the recommendation of the Board, respecting calling in the old Cloathes upon the delivery of the new, into execution. The Soldiers were not to be convinced of the good policy and œconomy intended by the application of the old Cloaths to Hospitals, and the followers of the

Army; but looked upon it as an unjustifiable attempt to deprive them of what they had earned by their years service; and what, considering the scanty supply of some kind of covering, Blankets in particular, would help to make them more comfortable during the Winter. These discontents were communicated to me the moment they arose, by some of the best Officers in the line, which determined me to let the matter drop, more especially as another argument was made use of, which was unanswerable, this was, that upon a fair settlement there would be found a considerable deficiency of the bounty Cloathing for a year or two past, and that therefore it would be more equitable to make up the deficiency than to draw in the remains. I am&c.[49]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Frederick'sburgh,
Wednesday, November 11, 1778.

Parole Europe. Countersigns Enfield, Egra.

Lieutenant Joseph Crocker[50] of Colo. Greaton's Regiment is appointed Pay Master. Lieutt. William Cheney[51] is appointed Adjutant and Lieutt. Samuel Millish[52] is appointed Quarter Master of the same from the 16th. of September last.

At a Division General Court Martial held in the Pennsylvania Line, October 28th. 1778, by order of General Wayne, Lieutt. Colo. Adam Hubley, President, Lieutt. Thomas McCoy of the 7th. Pennsylvania Regiment was tried for repeated disorderly Conduct unbecoming an Officer and a Gentleman and for embezzling the State's Money, found guilty of a breach of

[49] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade and addressed to Richard Peters as a "Member of the Board of War."

[50] Lieut. Joseph Crocker, of the Third Massachusetts Regiment. He was captain in March, 1780, and resigned in July, 1781.

[51] Lieut. William Chaney (Cheney), of the Third Massachusetts Regiment. He resigned in August, 1780.

[52] Lieut. Samuel Mellish, of the Third Massachusetts Regiment. He served to June, 1783.

the 21st. Article, 14th. section of the Articles of War and sentenced to be discharg'd the service. The Court do acquit him of embezzling the States Money, but it appears by an Amount render'd by Lieutt. McCoy to Lieutt. Colo. Hay and laid before the Court that he is considerably indebted for publick Monies advanced by the State of Pennsylvania and do therefore order the Accompts to be transmitted with the Proceedings of the Court to Head Quarters.

The Commander in Chief confirms the sentence; It gives him real Pain and regret that any officers should permit themselves to run into such frivolous, indecent quarrels and disorders.

As Lieutt. McCoy appears considerably indebted to the State of Pennsylvania for public Money received by him it is but equitable that if there be any Money due him from the United States, it should be stopped so far as not to exceed that Debt.

The Pay Master will therefore attend to this and the Commanding Officer of the Regiment to which he belongs will see that the Money so due to Lieutt. McCoy be paid to the State of Pennsylvania.

At a General Court-Martial of the Line, Novr. 5th. 1778, Lieutt. Colo. Williams, President, Lieutt. Wolfen of the Marechaussie Light Dragoons was tried for disobedience of orders, cursing and damning the service, striking Serjeant Muller with a Sword and confining him afterwards and for offering to have him punished again without a trial and for being drunk when he committed the same.

The Court are of opinion that Lieutenant Wolfen in striking Serjeant Muller and then confining him without any apparent Provocation was highly blamable and that his conduct thro'out the affair was unbecoming the Character of an Officer and a Gentleman and do sentence him to be reprimanded in General orders.

The General approves the sentence. Lieutt. Wolfen's conduct was highly indiscreet and improper.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Thursday, November 12, 1778.

Parole Penobscot. Countersigns Potowmack, Po.

The North Carolina Brigade to march tomorrow morning 8 o'Clock. The Commanding Officer will receive further orders at the Orderly Office.

All soldiers discharged from the Hospital by the Director General or Surgeons as unfit for Camp duty are to be sent to the Quarter Master General who will employ such as are fit, for Waggoners.[53]

At a General Court-Martial of the Line (Novr. 10th. 1778) whereof Lieutt. Colo. Williams was President, Lieutenant Marshall [54] of the first North Carolina Regiment tried for "Neglect of duty and disobedience of Orders"; found guilty of Neglect of duty but acquitted of the charge of disobedience of orders and sentenced to be reprimanded by the Commanding Officer of his Regiment.

The Commander in Chief confirms the sentence.

To NATHANIEL TRACY [55]

Head Quarters, November 12, 1778.

Sir: It was not till the return of Major Gibbs from the Eastward, that I discovered how much the cheerfulness of my table

[53] Meade wrote to Greene (November 11): "His Excy. . . . approves of your proposition of taking into employ as Waggoners all such as may be fit for that service and are unable to do duty as Soldiers, and that the director of the Hospitals shall be instructed to turn all such over to you." Meade's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[54] Lieut. Dixon Marshall, of the First North Carolina Regiment. He was taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1780; exchanged in June, 1781; served to close of the war.

[55] Agent for Continental armed vessels at Newburyport, Mass.

was owing to you. The pipe of Wine, which you sent me, was till then, mistaken for a purchase of the commissary; but notwithstanding its goodness, there still remained enough to remember the sender. I beg you may accept my thanks, and am etc.[56]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 12, 1778.

Sir: Inclosed I have the honor to transmit the Copy of a letter from Brigr. General Hamilton [57] to Genl. Heath. I did not choose to grant the request without the concurrence of Congress; tho' at the same time I think it may be safely done.[58] It will save the trouble and expence of another escort at a future day. I shall be glad of the determination of Congress as speedily as possible as the Flag Vessell bound to Virginia with the Baggage of the Convention troops, will perhaps be detained for the answer. I have the honor &c.[59]

To COLONEL DANIEL MORGAN

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 12, 1778.

Sir: The inclosed extract of an Act of the State of Virginia for recruiting the Continental Army was transmitted to me a few days ago by His Excellency the Governor. The Bounties and other encouragements offered by this Act are so liberal that I hope, if proper exertions are made use of, a number of the old

[56] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

[57] Brig. Gen. James Hamilton, of the British Army. A copy of his letter is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. His request was to allow a few sick and married British officer prisoners to go to Virginia in the flag vessel, to allow some sick privates to remain at Cambridge, and hospital stores to be shipped in the vessel.

[58] On this same day (November 12) Washington wrote to Maj. Gen. William Heath that he had referred Hamilton's request to Congress and sent officers to meet the Convention troops at Enfield. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[59] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Soldiers and Drafts may be inlisted. You will therefore be pleased to have the terms of the Act immediately communicated to the Officers of your Brigade and by them to the Men. I have some money, belonging to the State of Virginia, in my hands. If any of the Men incline to inlist you may assure them of the Bounty at a certain day, and send up to me for the Amount. I have never been made acquainted, notwithstanding the directions in the recruiting instructions, whether any progress has been made in reinlisting the Drafts upon the Bounty of twenty dollars.

Colonel Febiger informs me that the State has sent up a number of Waistcoats, Breeches, Shirts and Blankets to their Agent, to be sold out to their troops at moderate prices. It will be well to deliver out the two latter Articles immediately as the troops are in great want of them; But as they have just now drawn a full supply of Waistcoats and Breeches from the Continent, I would recommend it to you not to permit those belonging to the State to be sold to the Men, untill they are really wanted or, if they have already drawn those belonging to the State, that the Bounty Cloaths be reserved till wanted, as they are too apt to dispose of any thing more than what they have in wear, for liquor or for some trifling Consideration. I am &ca.[60] [N.Y.P.L.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND

Head Quarters, November 12, 1778.

Sir: I have to acknowledge your letter of the 29th. Ulto., with its several inclosures.

[60] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The draft in the *Washington Papers* is addressed to General Muhlenberg, who was then in the Highlands. The New York Public Library letter is addressed to Colonel Morgan, as the commanding officer of Woodford's brigade, then near Pompton, N. J.; the address sheet also bears the following in Tilghman's hand: "General Muhlenberg is requested to forward this immediately to Colo. Morgan."

The same letter was also sent to the officer commanding Scott's brigade.

The two militia companies, who were under General Stark's discharge, and which you mention on the cover of your letter to have left you, will necessarily forfeit, by this step the State bounty, as appears by its own resolutions of June the 10th, 1778.

Cloathing has been already sent on to Aldens, Butlers and Poseys corps. When the other troops are mustered, which are still unprovided and exact and accurate returns made out, you will then order officers down for the purpose of procuring them the necessary supplies. The return should correspond with their wants and include both their serviceable and unserviceable articles of cloathing. I am &ca.[61]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILLIAM BUTLER

Head Quarters, November 12, 1778.

Sir: Your letter of the 28th. Ulto. was duly communicated by Doctor Jones.[62]

The arrangements for the winter being not yet complete your regiment will wait further orders.[63] In the mean time I would be glad to know in what time you think your regiment and Colo. Morgan's corps could move to Wyoming; you will also mention the difficulties and the best course for such a march at this season of the year.

In case I find it expedient to remove these two corps to Wyoming, your presence will be necessary during the march. But when this is over, or if it should not take place I have no objection to complying with your visiting your family. This will be ascertained by the time I have your answer, when I shall write you further on this subject.

[61] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry. The original letter, which was sold at auction in 1893, contained the following: "P. S. You will be pleased to forward the inclosed to Colo. Butler."

[62] James Jones, surgeon's mate, of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment.

[63] Butler was then at Schoharie, N. Y.

Lieutt. Dover [64] of your Regt. has signified his desire on the 2d. instant, to resign, you will be pleased to report whether Mr. Dover has any accounts with the publick unsettled. I am &ca.[65]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Friday, November 13, 1778.

Parole ———. Countersigns ——— ———.

Lieutt. Benjamin Lodge [66] and Ensign James Allen [67] of the sixth Pennsylvania Regiment are appointed the first Adjutant and the second Quarter Master to the same from the first day of August last.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL PIERRE REGNIER

Head Quarters, November 13, 1778.

Sir: I received your letter of the 7th. Inst. with the inclosed representation of your officers.[68]

When a general plan of arrangement is once established for wintering the army, any alteration whatsoever might be introductory of difficulties and confusion; but independent of considerations of this kind, the reasons on which your officers found

[64] Lieut. John Dover, of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment. His resignation was dated Nov. 2, 1778.

[65] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

On November 12 Washington wrote to Major General Sullivan calling for an accurate list of those who were to be commissioned in Colonel Henley's regiment: "When I receive this I shall order commissions to be made out, and take the first opportunity to transmit them. But you will take precautions against the insertion of appointments not legally made; admitting those only of the first instance, or of a regular succession confirmed by proper officers." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[66] He was transferred to the Third Pennsylvania Regiment in January, 1783, and served to June of that year.

[67] He retired in January, 1780. His name appears sometimes as McAllen.

[68] This representation, dated Nov. 5, 1778, is addressed to Regnier and signed by 4 captains and 5 lieutenants of the Fourth New York Regiment. It is in the *Washington Papers*.

their request does not operate in favor of the change they desire. You may mention to the Gentlemen that the persons who have made incursions on Long Island have done it without my permission; And that a frequency of such prædatory conduct under proper authority, when not against our enemy in arms would soon put an end to the very intention of Major Grays command; those incursions have been chiefly planned against the inhabitants of the Island. You will also observe to your officers, that I shall at all times take a pleasure in the gratification of that spirit of enterprise which they have discovered and in its direction to proper objects. I am etc.[69]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 13, 1778.

Sir: Baron De Steuben will have the honor of delivering you this. He waits upon Congress on the subject of the Inspectorship, which he is extremely anxious should be put upon some decided footing. He appears to be sensible of some difficulties in the plan formerly proposed and which I had the honor some time since to transmit my observations upon;[70] and desirous, that they should not prove an obstruction to the progress of an institution, which if accomodated to the circumstances and sentiments of the Army, promises very great advantages to the service. The success the Baron had in the beginning and the benefits derived from it makes me regret the obstacles that have so long suspended his exertions; and I should wish he may have it in his power to resume them on principles most advancive of the service. On these I have already fully communicated my ideas; and it is unnecessary I should add. I have the honor, etc.[71]

[69] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.
[70] See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Sept. 12, 1778, *ante*.
[71] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

To HENRY LAURENS

Fredericksburgh, November 14, 1778.

Dear Sir: This will be accompanied by an official letter on the subject of the proposed expedition against Canada. You will perceive I have only considered it in a military light; indeed I was not authorised to consider it in any other; and I am not without apprehensions, that I may be thought, in what I have done, to have exceeded the limits intended by Congress. But my solicitude for the public welfare which I think deeply interested in this affair, will I hope justify me in the eyes of all those who view things through that just medium.

I do not know, Sir, what may be your sentiments in the present case; but whatever they are I am sure I can confide in your honor and friendship, and shall not hesitate to unbosom myself to you on a point of the most delicate and important Nature.

The question of the Canadian expedition in the form it now stands appears to me one of the most interesting that has hitherto agitated our National deliberations. I have one objection to it, untouched in my public letter, which is in my estimation, insurmountable, and alarms all my feelings for the true and permanent interests of my country. This is the introduction of a large body of French troops into Canada, and putting them in possession of the capital of that Province, attached to them by all the ties of blood, habits, manners, religion and former connexion of government. I fear this would be too great a temptation, to be resisted by any power actuated by the common maxims of national policy.[72] Let us realize for a moment the striking advantages France would derive from the possession of Canada;

[72] The draft at this point has the following crossed out: "to lay no particular stress on that spirit of ambition and love of dominion which the enemies of France have pretended to be peculiarly characteristic of that enterprising nation."

the acquisition of an extensive territory abounding in supplies for the use of her Islands; the opening a vast source of the most beneficial commerce with the Indian nations, which she might then monopolize; the having ports of her own on this continent independent on the precarious good will of an ally; the engrossing the whole trade of New found land whenever she pleased, the finest nursery of seamen in the world; the security afforded to her Islands; and finally, the facility of awing and controuling these states, the natural and most formidable rival of every maritime power in Europe. Canada would be a solid acquisition to France on all these accounts and because of the numerous inhabitants, subjects to her by inclination, who would aid in preserving it under her power against the attempt of every other.

France acknowledged for some time past the most powerful monachy in Europe by land, able now to dispute the empire of the sea with Great Britain, and if joined with Spain, I may say certainly superior, possessed of New Orleans, on our Right, Canada on our left and seconded by the numerous tribes of Indians on our Rear from one extremity to the other, a people, so generally friendly to her and whom she knows so well how to conciliate; would, it is much to be apprehended have it in her power to give law to these states.

Let us suppose, that when the five thousand french troops (and under the idea of that number twice as many might be introduced,) were entered the city of Quebec; they should declare an intention to hold Canada, as a pledge and surety for the debts due to France from the United States, [or, under other specious pretences hold the place till they can find a bone for contention], and [in the meanwhile] should excite the Canadians to engage in supporting [their pretences and claims]; what should we be able to say with only four or five thousand men to carry on the dispute? It may be supposed that France

would not choose to renounce our friendship by a step of this kind as the consequence would probably be a reunion with England on some terms or other; and the loss of what she had acquired, in so violent and unjustifiable a manner, with all the advantages of an Alliance with us. This in my opinion is too slender a security against the measure to be relied on. The truth of the position will intirely depend on naval events. If France and Spain should unite and obtain a decided superiority by Sea, a reunion with England would avail very little and might be set at defiance. France, with a numerous army at command might throw in what number of land forces she thought proper to support her pretensions; and England without men, without money, and inferior on her favourite element could give no effectual aid to oppose them. Resentment, reproaches, and submission seem to be all that would be left us. Men are very apt to run into extremes; hatred to England may carry some into an excess of Confidence in France; especially when motives of gratitude are thrown into the scale. Men of this description would be unwilling to suppose France capable of acting so ungenerous a part. I am heartily disposed to entertain the most favourable sentiments of our new ally and to cherish them in others to a reasonable degree; but it is a maxim founded on the universal experience of mankind, that no nation is to be trusted farther than it is bound by its interest; and no prudent statesman or politician will venture to depart from it. In our circumstances we ought to be particularly cautious; for we have not yet attained sufficient vigor and maturity to recover from the shock of any false step into which we may unwarily fall.

If France should even engage in the scheme, in the first instance with the purest intentions, there is the greatest danger that, in the progress of the business, invited to it by circumstances and, perhaps, urged on by the solicitations and wishes of the Canadians, she would alter her views.

As the Marquis clothed his proposition when he spoke of it to me, it would seem to originate wholly with himself; but it is far from impossible that it had its birth in the Cabinet of France and was put into this artful dress, to give it the readier currency. I fancy that I read in the countenances of some people on this occasion, more than the disinterested zeal of allies. I hope I am mistaken and that my fears of mischief make me refine too much, and awaken jealousies that have no sufficient foundation.

But upon the whole, Sir, to wave every other consideration; I do not like to add to the number of our national obligations. I would wish as much as possible to avoid giving a foreign power new claims of merit for services performed, to the United States, and would ask no assistance that is not indispensible. I am, etc.[73]

[73] This was a private letter. The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington. The letter sent, which is entirely in the writing of Washington, was sold at auction in 1933, and from the catalogue description varies in some particulars from the draft by Hamilton, which suffered much alteration before it was approved.

President Laurens replied (November 20): "I believe and upon good grounds, the scheme for an expedition into Canada in concert with the Arms of France, originated in the breast of the Marquis de lafayette, encouraged probably by conferences with Count d'Estaing and I also believe it to be the offspring of the purest motives so far as respects that origin, but this is not sufficient to engage my concurrence in a measure big with eventful mischiefs. As deeply as my very limited time and faculties had suffered me to penetrate, I had often contemplated our delicate connexion with France, and although it is painful to talk of one's own foresight, I had view'd and foretold fifteen Months ago the humiliating state, to which our embrio Independence would be reduced by courting from that Nation the loan of more Money than should be actually necessary for the support of the Army and of our unfortunate Navy.

"I was one of the six unsuccessful opponents to the resolution for borrowing Money from France for paying the Interest of our loan Office Certificates; we have in this single article plunged the Union into a vast amount of debt, and from neglecting to exert our very small abilities or even to shew a leading disposition to cancel any part of the former demand against us, our Bills for that Interest are now floating in imminent danger of dishonor and disgrace; fully persuaded of the true value of National honor I anxiously wished to support our own by a propriety and consistency of conduct and I dreaded the consequences of subjecting our happiness to the disposal of a powerful Creditor, who might on very specious grounds, interpret National honor to our destruction. I warned my friends against the danger of Mortgaging these States to foreign powers. Every Million of Livres you borrow implies a pledge of your Lands, and it is optional in your Creditor to be repaid at the bank of England with an exorbitant Præmium, or to collect the Money due to him in any of your Ports, and according to his own mode, whenever National Interest shall require the support

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 14, 1778.

Sir: I do myself the honor to transmit you the copy of a letter of the 10th instant, which I received yesterday from Sir Henry Clinton,[74] on the subject of exchanging the prisoners of the Convention. Should the proposition be agreeable to Congress, I shall be glad to receive powers to enter into a negotiation as soon as possible, as it may probably relieve our Officers, upon parole, from the disagreeable necessity of returning to New York. I will just observe, that should an exchange take place upon the terms proposed by Sir Henry, I should suppose that we shall not be obliged to give up any considerable number of privates by way of composition, as the Officers of the Convention, should the whole be suffered to be exchanged, would go

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of pretended National honor; hence Your Excellency will perceive what were my feelings, when the propositions for subduing Canada by the aid of a french Fleet and Army were first broached to me. I demurred exceedingly to the Marquis's scheme and expressed some doubts of the concurrence of Congress, this was going as far as I dared consistently with my Office or considering him as a Gentleman of equal honor and tenacity. I trusted the issue of his application to the sagacity of Congress, the business was referred to a Committee who conferred with the Marquis, their Report was framed agreeably to his wishes, but the House very prudently determined to consult the Commander in Chief previously to a final determination, and, although Your Excellency's observations are Committed, I am much mistaken if every Member of Congress is not decided in his opinion in favor of them. If the prosecution of so extensive a project is from the present state of our Army and funds impracticable on our part, it becomes altogether unnecessary to discuss the point in a Political view, and I trust the Marquis will be satisfied with such reasonings in apology for our desisting from the pursuit of his favorite enterprise, as our circumstances will dictate.

"The immense debts which we are involved in abroad and at home demands the most serious attention and calls for an exertion of the collected wisdom of all these States, in order to secure what we have saved from the ravages of the Enemy. I am very short sighted, if there be at this time any encouragement for attempting distant conquests. I have been uniformly averse from every proposition which tended to dissipate our strength, and to accumulate our debt; events have confirmed my opinions, and at this Instant taking in view all circumstances, I have doubts of the policy and more of the success of the pending expedition against East Florida." Laurens's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[74] A copy of Clinton's letter is filed with this one of Washington in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. In proposing an exchange negotiation Clinton added: "You have ordered the troops of the Convention to be removed from Massachusetts Bay to Virginia, and I have ordered all the officers of your Army prisoners out on parole to return here."

a great way towards liberating ours[75] at present in the hands of the Enemy.

But it cannot be expected that they will leave their troops intirely destitute of Officers. Mr. Commissary Clark[76] mentioned by Sir Henry Clinton, was permitted by Genl Heath to go from Boston to New York to settle the accounts and procure money for the discharge of the debts of the troops at Cambridge.[77] I have the honor, etc.[78]

To MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 14, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have your favs. of the 9th. and 13th. I think it will be on every account better for the Officers of the Connecticut line to take their places as they were posted by the new arrangement, and I desire that Genl. Huntington and Parsons may do it.

I have received advice from Boston that the Somerset of 64 Guns, one of Admiral Byron's Fleet, went on shore on Cape Cod in a Gale of Wind the 31st. last month. The Officers and Crew except 40 or 50 drowned, are prisoners. It is said that three or four more ships were seen in extreme distress. If the Fleet had not made a port before the Storm of the 11th. and

[75] The draft reads "liberating all ours."

[76] Jonathan Clarke, Assistant Commissary General, British Northern Army.

[77] "General Scott has my instructions that you may proceed by the most convenient route to Cambridge or the troops of Convention. And that nothing may be wanting which can add to their ease and comfort you may [if you choose it] signify to Sir Henry Clinton that I will receive at Kings ferry the necessaries and money you mention and take immediate measures to have them conveyed to the troops."—*Washington to Clarke,* Nov. 14, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.* The draft of this letter is in the writing of James McHenry and the words in brackets were added, in the draft, by Washington.

"Mr. Clarke has my permission to proceed by the most convenient route to the troops of the Convention."—*Washington to Sir Henry Clinton,* Nov. 14, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[78] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The letter was read in Congress on November 18 and referred to the Board of War.

that of last night we may conclude that they cannot be in a very agreeable situation. They had not got into Newport the 10th. Count D'Estaing put to sea with his whole Fleet the 4th. of this month. I am etc.[79]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT

Head Quarters, November 14, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have to acknowlege your favor of Yesterday, and one by Colonel Graham.[80]

When Colonel Graham was up here, I received from Count D'Estaing a number of declarations, to the french inhabitants of America,[81] addressed to them in the name of his most christian majesty. Each of the gentlemen who were at table got one of those declarations. As I do not think it proper they should be made public by me in the first instance; or that they should creep into New York before they have an operation elsewhere I have therefore recalled all the declarations but that one in Colonel Grahams possession. You will be pleased to recover this as soon as possible and transmit it here.

In the letter from Mr. Clark the A. Commissary Genl. to the Convention army he requests a passport by land; and an examination of his letters, in order that he may not be under the necessity of going to Boston in case the troops should be on their march. You will examine the letters he brought out of N. York, and give him a permission to proceed by the nearest route to Cambridge or the Convention troops, previously taking his parole that he will not communicate with the people to the injury or disadvantage of the States, either directly or indirectly.

[79] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[80] Col. Morris Graham, of the New York levies.

[81] A translation of this Declaration, in the writing of John Laurens, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 59, 3, fol. 147. It was read in Congress by the request of the French Minister Gérard on December 5.

The inclosures you will send into N. Y. by flag and should Mr. Clarke want to write me, you will give his the same conveyance. I am etc.

P. S. In case Colo. Graham has had the declaration translated, you will do every thing to recover such from the persons who may have them.[82]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 14, 1778.

Dear Sir: Permission is granted to send a Flag Boat from New York to Kings Ferry with Cloathing and other necessaries for the troops of the Convention who may be shortly expected at Fishkill on their way to Virginia. Upon the arrival of the British Boat at Kings Ferry, you are to procure a proper Vessel and take the goods out of her and send them under the care of an Officer who is to deliver them to the Deputy Quarter Master Genl. at Fishkill landing, to be carefully stored till called for.[83] I am etc.[84]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, November 16, 1778.

Sir: By the time this reaches you General Du Portail will probably be at Philadelphia. One part of his business is to

[82] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

[83] On November 16 Washington wrote again to Clinton ordering him to march as soon as possible to Albany. "The inclosed copy of a letter to Genl. Hand will point out the cause of your movement, and you will consider it as instructions for your conduct, as you will have the command. . . . I wrote you on Saturday respecting a flag Vessel that might come up to Kings ferry. If She should not come before you march, you will advise Colo. Malcom of the matter and request him to pursue the same conduct with respect to the Cloathing &c. she may bring as was prescribed to you." This original letter is in the Morgan Library.

[84] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

prosecute the directions given him, some time since, for forming a plan for the defence of the River Delaware, to be submitted to Congress. Another part is to understand from Congress, what may be their views and wishes with respect to his further continuance in America and that of the three other Gentlemen attached to him. He informs me that the furlough, he obtained from the Court of France expires in February next, and that unless there is a certain prospect of his being employed hereafter, in a manner useful to the States and honorable to himself, he intends immediately to return. He therefore wishes some explicit ideas to be realized on this subject. He is also anxious that something difinitive should be done, with respect to the pay and other appointments both of himself and the Gentlemen with him; which have been hitherto undecided and have left them in a very uncertain and disagreeable situation; added to this, he is desirous to have some arrangement fixed for the rules and manner of service in his department.

He delivered me some days since a memorial intended for Congress and which I have now the honour to inclose, containing his ideas on a general system of fortification for these states, and which he requested me to accompany with my Sentiments. But it includes questions of finance and considerations of policy, the most extensive and important; of which Congress alone can form a competent judgment. I shall therefore only say, that considered merely in a military point of view, the plan appears to me worthy of very serious attention.

It is but justice to General Du Portail to observe, that I have a high opinion of his merit and abilities; and esteem him not only well acquainted with the particular branch he possesses, but a man of sound judgment and real knowledge in military science in general. I have also a very favourable opinion of the other Gentlemen; I will take the liberty to add, that it appears

to me they will be extremely necessary and useful in our future operations, whether be directed to offence, or defence, whether to dispossess the enemy of posts in our front, to assist in carrying on the proposed expedition into Canada, or any other, on a less extensive plan, which may be substituted in its stead, for the mere security of our frontier.

Mr. De Murnon[85] has served in quality of Engineer under General Du Portail since the first of March last with the promise of a Majority, by the Committee of arrangement at Valley forge. He has never yet received his commission. This I presume has been forgotten in a croud of more important affairs. With the greatest respect, etc.[86]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, November 16, 1778.

Sir: I had the honor of receiving your favour of the 6th, yesterday, with the inclosed copy of a letter from the President of the Council of New Jersey, relative to an expected attack upon the Western frontier of that state. I have just received a letter from General Hand,[87] giving intelligence of an attack upon Colonel Alden's regiment at Cherry-Valley, effected by surprise, in consequence of which there is too much reason to apprehend, that regiment may fall a sacrifice. I transmit a copy of the dispatches announcing this disagreeable affair.

[85] Jean Bernard de Murnand. He received his commission as major of engineers, Jan. 13, 1779, to date from Mar. 1, 1778; brevet lieutenant colonel in September, 1783; resigned Feb. 3, 1784, when Congress resolved that it entertained "a due sense of Lieutenant Colonel Murnan's abilities and services."

[86] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The letter was read in Congress on November 21 and referred to the Board of War. The memorial enclosed was referred to the Marine Committee.

[87] A copy of Hand's letter of November 13, also one of Col. Frederick Fisher, of November 11, and one of Col. Jacob Klock, of November 12, are filed with this one of Washington in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. The original of Hand's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

These depredations of the Enemy give me the most serious concern. I lament that we have not yet had it in our power to give them an effectual check. I am perfectly convinced, that the only certain way of preventing Indian ravages is to carry the war vigorously into their own country; but as this is thought impracticable at this late season of the year from the state of the waters and other impediments, I fear we must content ourselves for the present with defensive precautions, for the present. I have already informed Congress, that Col. Cortlandt's regiment had marched towards the Minisincks; but having since directed Count Pulaski to proceed with his corps to Cole's fort in that neighbourhood, Col. Cortlandt will take post somewhere between that place and Rochester. Orders are now given to Col. Spencers regiment and Col. Armands corps to join General Pulaski. This disposition is agreeable to the opinion of Governour Clinton and other Gentlemen acquainted with the Country, whom I have consulted; and is calculated to cover the Eastern frontier of Pensylvania, New Jersey and the western part of New York. I shall also immediately send the remainder of General Clinton's Brigade to Albany; when arrived there if any thing offensive can possibly be undertaken it shall be done, if not they will be disposed of in a manner that shall seem best adapted for protection and defence. With the greatest respect, etc.[88]

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, November 16, 1778.

Dear Sir: By a Letter from General Hand of the 13th. which came to hand to day, I received the disagreable intelligence that the Enemy had proceeded to the settlement of Cherry Valley, surprised and slain Colo. Alden, who was stationed there and

[88] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

committed many outrages. I wish it may not turn out, that the whole of his Regt. has been cut off, as the accounts seem to have left matters in a very doubtful and disagreeable situation. These incursions and depredations of one settlement after another are infinitely distressing, and if possible, I should be happy to check them effectually. I have ordered the remainder of Clinton's Brigade to move immediately to Albany, and I would wish you to consider with Genl. Hand, whether it will be practicable for it, in conjunction with the other troops in that Quarter, to prosecute any offensive operation this season. If it will not, you will be so obliging, as to advise with him on the disposition that should be made of the Troops, so as to give the most extensive security to the Frontiers and having regard to their own safety. Besides the Troops now going to Albany, I ordered Count Pulaski some days ago to march to the Minisincks with his Legion consisting of about 250 Horse and foot, which will be reinforced by Armand's and Spencers Corps, amounting to about the same number. This force you will have in view, in your deliberations, and also Colo. Cortlandts Regiment, which is now between Minisincks and Rochester.

You will not be unmindful of the Canada intelligence, I am persuaded; and I must request the earliest exertions in your power to obtain it.

I have directed the Quarter Master Genl. to set the saw mills to work about Fort Ann and Fort Edward, and shall be happy in your advice to Colo. Lewis upon the occasion.

The Enemy still remain in New York and at Rhode Island, and it would seem from the lateness of the season and other circumstances, that they mean to winter there, yet there are somethings which favour a hope to the contrary.

The Winds of late have been very violent. On the 31st. Ulto. the Somerset of 64 Guns was drove on shore on the south side

of Cape Cod and her Crew made prisoners. There is also a report that three more of the fleet are lost on Nantucket Shoals. The Count D'Estaing put to sea with his Squadron on the 4th. Instt. I dont know his destination. I am etc.[89]

To LORD STIRLING

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 16, 1778.

My Lord: You will be pleased to order Colonel Spencer, with his Regiment, to repair immediately to Coles Fort, at the Minisink, and there join General Count Pulaski. Your Lordship will further direct that Colonel Spencer may take the nearest route, and make his march as expeditious as possible.

It was not till to day I had an opportunity to acknowlege your letters of the 11th. and 13th. Inst. The uncertainty which General Skinner's[90] answer left us in, with respect to Sir Henry Clinton, is cleared up by a letter of the 10th. which I received from himself.

As your Lordship predicted of Admiral Byron, so has it in some measure fallen out. One of his vessels, the Sommersit, has been lost on Cape Codd, and the crew, about 500, are prisoners in our hands. It is said, that three others were seen at the same time in great distress.

General Sullivan in a letter of the 13th. mentions, that one large man of war had arrived at Newport harbour, and that 10 more had appeared off the East end of block Island, standing in, all supposed to be of Byrons fleet.

The late embarkations of the enemy have rather deranged my ideas of the number of regiments which still remain at New York and its dependencies, as well as those that have sailed. It

[89] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[90] Brig. Gen. Cortlandt Skinner, of the New Jersey Volunteers, British Provincial Troops.

is absolutely necessary at least that the former should be known with great precision. For this purpose you may register in different columns the accounts of deserters, your information from spies, and persons who may come out of New York. In one column designating the corps which have sailed, and those which remain on Staten and Long Island. As you proceed in this work, you will transmit me copies, and the result as soon as it is made complete.

Colonel Ogden perhaps will be able to ascertain, by a channel which he mentioned to me at Mrs. Provost[91] the exact number of Regiments yet remaining which is by far the most essential part of the inquiry. I am &ca.[92]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 16, 1778.

Sir: I have recd. yours of the 13th. containing the disagreeable account of the attack upon Colo. Aldens Regt. at Cherry Valley. But your Letter of the 10th. has never come to hand. I have ordered Genl. Clinton with the two remaining Regts. of his Brigade to march immediately to Albany,[93] that they may be ready to act as circumstances may require. It is in the highest degree distressing to have our frontier so continually harrassed by this collection of Banditti under Brand[94] and Butler.[95] I would have you without loss of time consult Genl. Schuyler and some of the Gentlemen and others in the part of the Country where you now are, upon the propriety or practicability of

[91] Mrs. Samuel Provost.

[92] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

[93] "In writing to him, [General Hand] it was only intended that matters should be getting in train."—*Washington to James Clinton,* Nov. 16, 1778. This letter is in the Morgan Library.

[94] Joseph Brant.

[95] Walter Butler.

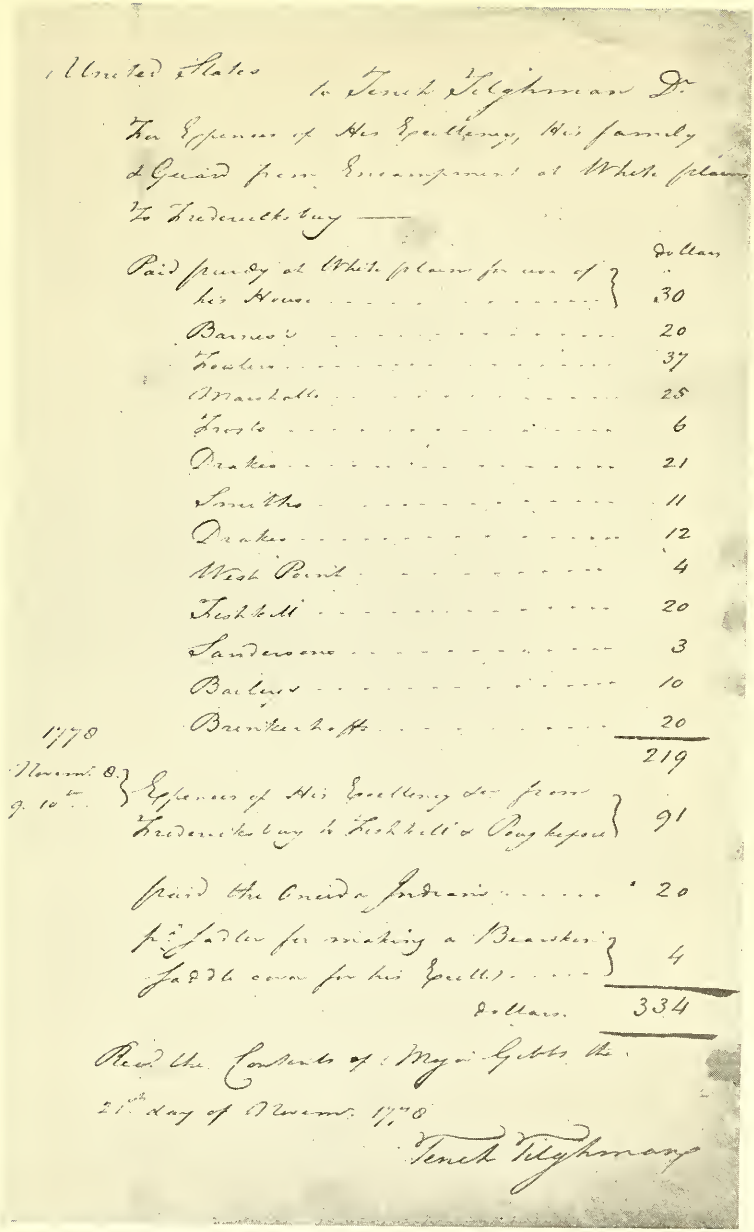
some offensive operation at this season of the year, with the number of Men which the addition of the two Regts. will make against these people, by means of which they may be removed to such a distance as to make it inconvenient for them to make such frequent incursions. If any thing is to be undertaken let me know upon what quarter it is to be, as soon as it is determined. If it shall not be judged expedient to carry an expedition at this time, you will then consult with the Gentlemen above mentioned upon the most proper disposition of the troops to support each other in case of an attack upon any of the separate posts, and at the same time to afford protection and cover to the Frontier. Count Pulaski's legion consisting of about 250 Horse and Foot are at Coles Fort in the Minisink settlement. I intend to strengthen them, with the addition of some other Corps say about 250 more. Colo. Cortlandts Regt. is between Minisink and Rochester. In deliberating upon the matter before mentioned, you will keep these troops in view, as they may either co-operate with those to the Northward, or make any diversion to favor them, should an offensive operation be determined upon. I am &ca.[96]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 14[–16], 1778.

Sir: I am favd. with yours of the 7th. We are yet under as much uncertainty as ever respecting the evacuation of New York. My advices from Lord Stirling of the 11th. say that another fleet of one hundred sail had collected at the watering place, and that they had some Hessians and troops of other kinds on board; but he does not mention the estimated number. He also adds that but few ships are left at New York, so

[96] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.



United States to Tench Tilghman Dr

For Expenses of His Excellency, His family & Guard from Encampment at White plains To Fredericksburg —

		dollars
	Paid Purdy at White plains for use of his House	30
	Barnes's	20
	Fowlers	37
	Marshalls	25
	Frosts	6
	Drakes	21
	Smiths	11
	Drakes	12
	West Point	4
	Fishkill	20
	Sandersons	3
	Baileys	10
1778	Brinkerhoffs	20
		219
Novemr 8, 9, 10th	Expences of His Excellency &c from Fredericksburg to Fishkill & Poughkepsie	91
	paid the Oneida Indians	20
	pd Sadler for making a Bearskin Saddle cover for his Excelly	4
	dollars	334

Recd the Contents of Major Gibbs the 21st day of Novemr 1778

Tench Tilghman

TENCH TILGHMAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENSE OF MOVING HEADQUARTERS FROM WHITE PLAINS TO FREDERICKSBURG, NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 21, 1778

that if the fleet above mentioned does not carry off the whole, a Garrison must of necessity remain or wait the arrival of more ships, which is not probable.

Inclosed you have a Resolve of Congress directing me to procure intelligence from Canada and Nova Scotia. I have laid a proper train to obtain the necessary information from Canada, but I must depend upon you, from your situation, to procure the best you can from Nova Scotia. If you have an opportunity of getting any thing from Canada, I shall be glad you will do it, as, by comparing the two accounts, we may form a better judgment.

No doubt proper advantage will be taken of the Winter to establish Magazines of Flour to the Eastward, which will not be so difficult now you are relieved from the Convention Troops and the French Squadron. I am &ca.

16th: I have your favr. of the 10th. I am obliged for your care of the Box committed to Colo. Harrison who is not yet arrived; nothing further from New York of any consequence.[97]

[N.Y.H.S.]

*To JEREMIAH WADSWORTH

Head Qurs. Fredg., November 16, 1778.

Sir: In your Letter of the 14th. Instt. in answer to mine of the [my enquiries][98] I do not know whether you clearly understood my meaning and intention; therefore, as it is essential to the due execution of some Plans in contemplation, and to orders I am about to give, to have the following questions solved with precision I wish you to say.

How much Flour, and how much Salted Beef, and Porke, you can lay in at Albany by the 1st. day of Feby. 1779?[99]

[97] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[98] The words in brackets were inserted by Tilghman, who crossed out "mine of the."
[99] Washington first wrote "15th of Jan."

How much of each of these Articles you can lay in at the same place by the first day of May next ensuing?

And whether a large, and constant supply of Beef Cattle could be had at that place afterwards to feed 15,000 Men from each of the days above recited; if necessary for the purpose of saving the Salted Meat?

How much Flour, and how much Salted Beef or Porke, you can lay up on Connecticut River, from Fort Charles, or No. 4 upwards by the 15th. day of January next?

How much of these Articles you can lay in at the same place, or places by the first day of May next ensuing?

And whether a regular supply of Cattle could be had there for the purpose of feeding 5000 Men afterwards.

It is of importance to be informed of these matters with as much accuracy as the Nature of the case will admit of, early in the Morning. I am &ca.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, November 17, 1778.

Dear Sir: You will, as soon as possible after receipt of this, put the two Massachusetts Brigades under your command in motion, with their Artillery and Baggage, and proceed with them to Danbury, where you will receive further orders.[1] General Poor, with his Brigade, is to conduct the Convention troops from Enfield to Fish Kill landing. I have written to him particularly on the subject and therefore it is unnecessary to

On November 16 Washington wrote to Lieut. Col. Ludowick Weltner, of the German Regiment, that he preferred granting him a furlough to accepting his resignation tendered on account of Weltner's health: "Please to consider of this. . . . If you conclude to quit the service, I shall make no further objection, but must regret the loss of a good officer." Weltner retired in January, 1781. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[1] See Washington's letters to Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam, Nov. 20, 1778, *post*.

detail his instructions here. The two Massachusetts Brigades cannot arrive too soon at Danbury, provided they do not march so fast as to injure themselves. I am, etc.

P. S. There have been several claims exhibited against a Lt. Trowbridge[2] of the 2d. Connecticut Batallion, by Men in his Company, such as bounty and billeting money, and pay; and besides this, it seems he was considerably indebted to the public. It is said that you gave him a discharge from the service. I shall be glad if you will inform me, whether he lodged with you proper certificates of his being clear of debt previous to his dismission and whether he was at that time or is now in circumstances to pay the claims against him.[3]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ENOCH POOR

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 17, 1778.

Dear Sir: You are to march immediately upon the receipt hereof with your Brigade to Enfield at which place I imagine the first division of the Convention troops will be arrived by the time you get there. It is intended that your Brigade shall guard them from thence to Fishkill by the inclosed Route.[4] You will therefore inquire of the Officer who conducts the first division, into how many they are divided, that you may proportion your force accordingly. Be pleased to appoint a careful field Officer to superintend each division. You may come on with the front yourself or wait to make any arrangements, as you may judge necessary. Colo. Bland of the 1st. Regt. of Dragoons went forward by my directions to meet the troops. He is to conduct

[2]Lieut. Elihu Trowbridge, of the Second Connecticut Regiment. He resigned Dec. 4, 1777.

[3]The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[4]This route is entered on the draft after the postscript. It is the same as that given in Royal Flint's memorandum in the footnote to Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. William Heath, Nov. 6, 1778, *q. v.*

them to the place of their destination in Virginia: But as he will be wanted to make some preparations for their accommodation thro' Jersey and Pennsylvania he will leave them under your charge as far as Fishkill and come forward. He will communicate his instructions to you. I would advise you to send your heavy Baggage and Artillery with Pattersons and Learneds Brigades to Danbury. Upon your arrival at Fishkill, you will receive orders for the disposition of your Brigade for the Winter. I am etc.

P. S. Upon reconsideration you will be pleased to send your Baggage and Artillery thro' New Milford and Fredericksbg. to Fishkill.[5]

To JEREMIAH WADSWORTH

Head Quarters, November 17, 1778.

Dear Sir: His Excellency desires to be informed whether the two thousand Barrels of salted Meat and the two thousand Barrels of Flour that you engage to have at Albany by the 1st. of February ensuing, includes the provision already in that quarter or whether it will be so much additionel. And again, Whether the thousand Barrels of salt meat and five hundred Barrels of Flour that you engage to have at Newbury by the 15th. day of January, includes the provision already in the Country and what you can add by transporting from the lower Country. If this should be the case, General Bailey's representation of matters was very erroneous. He talked of 2000 Barrels of salt meat and from 10 to 20000 Bushels of wheat, being on the upper part of Connecticut River. You will please to be as explicit as possible upon the above points as His Excellency will form his determination upon your Report. I am etc.[6]

[5] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[6] This draft is in the writing of and is signed by Tench Tilghman.

To COLONEL THEODORICK BLAND

Head Quarters, November 17, 1778.

Dear Sir: In order to avoid the calling on the militia of Connecticut, for the purpose of guarding the troops of Convention, I have directed Genl. Poor, with his brigade to proceed with them as far as the North River.

Major Jameson may continue, but you will be pleased to return here previously communicating to General Poor a copy of your instructions.

I am the more desirous to see you, that a comprehensive plan may be settled for the remainder of the march, as I mean you should take up the troops at the North River, and continue with them to Charlottesville. You may have discovered some defects which future arrangements may be able to obviate, and make the journey easier to you, and more comfortable to the troops. I am etc.[7]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Tuesday, November 17, 1778.

Parole Hampshire. Countersigns Harkamer, Holden.

At a General Court Martial of the Line November 14th. 1778, Lieutenant Colo. Williams, President; Lieutt. Cobie[8] of the 2nd. Pennsylvania Regiment was tried for behaving unlike an Officer and Gentleman. The Court are unanimously of opinion that Lieutt. Cobie is not guilty of the charge exhibited against him and acquit him.

The Commander in Chief confirms the opinion of the Court. Lieutt. Cobie is to be released from his Arrest.

[7] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

[8] Lieut. John Cobea, of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment. He was made a captain in March, 1779, and retired in January, 1781.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Wednesday, November 18, 1778.

Parole Thermopyle. Countersigns Trent, Troy.

A few Tickets in the second Class of the United States Lottery[9] are received and ready for sale at the Pay Office where those who are inclined to become Adventurers are requested to apply as soon as possible as the Lottery will certainly commence drawing the first day of January next, at which time all the Tickets remaining on hand must be returned. Those who are possessed of Prize Tickets of twenty dollars in the first Class may have them renewed by applying as above.

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 18, 1778.

Sir: The troops of the Convention have advanced considerably towards the North River. They will be guarded to that place by the Militia of Connecticut and from thence to Delaware by an escort of Continental troops. As I cannot with any degree of convenience send the Continental troops beyond Delaware, I am under the necessity of desiring the Board to make a requisition to the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, to give orders to the County Lieutenants of Northampton, Berks, Lancaster and York to hold four or five hundred of the Militia of each of those Counties ready agt. they shall be called upon by Colo. Bland, of the 1st Regt. of Dragoons, who is appointed by me to superintend the march of the troops the whole way.

[9] The Continental Congress Lottery of 1777, which was authorized in November, 1776.

The Militia of each County to march to the extent of their own bounds, which will make the duty very light. Be pleased likewise to desire, that the Waggon Masters in each of the above Counties may be ordered to assist the Qr. Masters who attend the troops with Waggons sufficient to transport the Baggage. I could wish that no time may be lost in giving the orders, lest there should be some unnecessary delay on the Roads at this advanced Season. I shall be obliged to you for making the like requisition to Govr. Johnson of Maryland for an escort of Militia and supply of Waggons thro' the County of Frederick in that State. I will give Colo. Bland directions to call for the necessary Guards from Virginia, after he has crossed the Powtomack.

The troops have hitherto come on in very good order and with great expedition and I hope they will continue so to do thro' their whole march. I have the honor, etc.[10]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg,
8 o'Clock P. M., November 18, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have this moment recd. your Excellency's favr. of yesterday, containing the disagreeable account of the destruction of Cherry Valley settlement, the loss of Fort Alden, and of Colonel Alden's Regiment. Upon the first intimation of the seige of the Fort, which I received from Genl. Hand by letter of the 13th,[11] I directed Brigr. Genl. James Clinton to march immediately to Albany with the two remaining Regiments of his Brigade, to act as circumstances might require. Count Pulaski's Legion consisting of 250 Horse and Foot is at Minisink

[10] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[11] Brigadier General Hand had written also on the 10th, but this letter was delayed in transmission.

and I have ordered two other Corps of about 250 more to the same place. Colo. Cortland is, with his Regiment, in the neighbourhood of Rochester. I mention these particulars to your Excellency, that you may, if you find it expedient to form any offensive plans, command the assistance of those troops either to co-operate with or make a diversion in favr. of those to the Northward.

If you proceed yourself to the Frontier I wish you every success, as I am etc.

P. S. You will find, by my instructions to Genl. Hand that I have recommended some offensive operations if they can be undertaken.[12]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 18, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have your Excellency's favor of the 7th. It will always be my wish, whenever it is in my power, to afford protection to every part of the State of New Jersey by means of the Continental Army, as I would ever avoid calling out the Militia but upon exigencies. The lower part of the County of Bergen must from its situation remain exposed to the Enemy while they keep a garrison in New York; but when I come to make the Cantonments in Jersey,[13] I will, if it can be done with safety, make such a disposition of part of the troops as will answer the purposes you mention. I have ordered Count Pulaski's Legion and several other Corps to the neighbourhood of Minisinck, which I hope will quiet the apprehensions and afford protection to the Inhabitants of the Western Frontier of your State and that of New York. I am etc.[12]

[12] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[13] For winter quarters.

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 18, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have your favs. of the 10th. 13th. and 15th. instants. I am obliged to you for the Newport paper which gives a more circumstantial account of the embarkation of the Enemy than any I had procured. The prospect of an evacuation of New York is not so great as it was some little time ago. A fleet consisting of the greatest number of their remaining Vessels is now collecting at the Hook, their departure must reduce the matter to a certainty, at least for the present, because if they do not all go off in that fleet, part must remain of necessity. Be pleased to communicate every intelligence of the Enemys motions upon Rhode Island.

Colonel Wadsworth Commissary General of purchases has shewn me an order from you to Clarke and Nightingale,[14] which they have delegated to a Mr. Mumford, to purchase Flour in this state for the use of the Army at Rhode Island.[15] The Commissary General has represented this to me, as having a tendency to raise the price unnecessarily, by increasing the number of purchasers, and to defeat the salutary effects of a law lately passed in this state for the better supply of the Army, by which, no Flour can be transported to any of the other states except by the Commy. Genl. or special license of the Governor. Count D'Estaing by making a private Contract with a Mr. Price for 2000 Barrels of Flour not only raised the price exceedingly, but under the allowance given to Mr. Price to export his 2000 Barrels the Governor suspects many more were run upon private account. The Commy. Genl. pledges himself to supply you

[14] Clark & Nightingale, merchants, of Providence, R. I.

[15] This order to Thomas Mumford and Zebdial Rogers to purchase and forward flour to Major General Sullivan is dated Oct. 30, 1778, and is in the *Washington Papers*.

amply with both Bread and Meat this Winter. He begs you to recollect, that if you have heretofore been scantily supplied with the former, it has been owing to the great and sudden demand of the troops assembled without the least previous notice for the Rhode Island Expedition, and the consumption of the French Fleet. Under all these difficulties he contrived to keep up a supply, and as he is now releived from the greatest part of his burthen to the Eastward by the removal of the Convention troops and the sailing of the fleet from Boston, he has not the least doubt of keeping your magazines full. I have therefore desired Mr. Mumford to withhold his purchase [and beg that you will never take a step of the kind again without first representing the matter to me; by means of contending purchasers Flour in this State rose from three pounds to Seven pounds ten shillings and Eight pounds pr. Ct. and the business not half as well done as if the whole purchases had passed through one hand.]

A 64 and a 40 Gun ship came into the Hook the 12th. and 13th. dismasted. I imagine they are part of Byron's scattered fleet. I am, etc.[16]

To BARON DE KALB

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 18, 1778.

Dear Sir: The first division of the Troops of the Convention may be expected in a few days at Fishkill on their way to Virginia. The Escort from the North River to the Delaware is to be furnished from your division. You will therefore immediately select between five and six hundred Men for this duty,

[16] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The part in brackets is in the writing of Washington.

divided into six detachments, (as the Convention troops march in so many,) each under the command of an active Officer not above the Rank of a Lieutenant Colonel. I mention this, that there may be no interference with Colo. Bland on account of Rank, he being appointed to superintend the march of the troops the whole way to the place of their destination in Virginia. That the Men from your division may be ready, let them cross the River immediately and encamp near New Burgh.

It is probable that many of the Convention troops may, under the pretence of desertion, attempt to get into New York. I therefore desire you will order a strict watch to be kept, and if any of them are found stragling any suspicious distance from their Corps, that they may be taken up and returned to them. I am &ca.

P. S. Upon reconsidering the matter, it will be better to post two Regiments at the Continental Village where Genl. Clinton was posted, and if any of the Convention troops attempt to pass that way let them be stopped and informed that they must go back into the Country. Returning them to their Corps will have a bad effect to those who really mean to desert in earnest.[17]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ENOCH POOR

Head Quarters, November 18, 1778.

Dear Sir: Since writing to you yesterday, I received a Letter from Colo. Bland, advising me that the Van of the Convention Troops were at Enfield on the 13th. and would reach Sharon to night; also that proper arrangements had been made and Militia escorts assembled for conducting them to the North river. As matters are so circumstanced and the Troops much more forward in their advance than I expected, I think it best to

[17] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

countermand my instructions to you of yesterday; and that they should come on under the care of Colo. Bland and the Militia provided for the purpose. You however will put your Brigade in motion with its baggage and Artillery and proceed to Fish Kill by the shortest route, with as much expedition as you can, without injuring your Men, where you will receive further orders from Major Genl. McDougal. I am, etc.[18]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JEDIDIAH HUNTINGTON

Head Quarters, November 18, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am informed by Colo. Bland who has the care of the Convention Troops, that the first division of them would be at Sharon this Night. It is more than probable that many of these under the pretence of desertion, will endeavour to find their way into New York; I would therefore wish you to stop all that may happen in your way and detain them until you think their release may be safe, or send them back into the Country, provided there will not be a probability of accomplishing their aim, should they mean to get into the City, with a threat that if they are detected again under the slightest appearance of making their escape that they may rely on the severest treatment. It would not be amiss to warn the Magistrates convenient to you of this matter, who may frequently have an opportunity of intercepting such when it would be out of your power to do it.

I wish to be informed when you expect to arrive at Danbury. I am etc.[19]

[18] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. This letter was inclosed in one of November 18 from Washington to Putnam, of the same purport as to the march of the Convention troops, with instructions to forward it to Poor, and is in the *Washington Papers*.

[19] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

To COLONEL DAVID HENLEY

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 18, 1778.

Sir: Colonel Gist handed me your letter of the 16th. Inst.

You will be pleased to continue in your command,[20] till circumstances may make it necessary to alter the arrangement, or till my furthers orders on this subject.[21]

I need not recommend to you diligence and good conduct in the execution of its different objects. But besides communicating your information as it arises, in the manner which Genl. Scott pursued, and in which you have his instructions, you might make out a table, or something in the way of columns, under which you might range, their magazines of forage, grain and the like, the different corps and regiments, the Works, where thrown up, their connexion, kind and extent, the officers commanding, with the number of guns &ca. &ca. This table should comprehend in one view all that can be learned from deserters, spies, and persons who may come out from the enemy's boundaries. And tho' it will be a gradual work, and subject to frequent alteration and amendment yet it may be, by attention and proper perseverance made a very useful one. Transcripts may be drawn occasionally from it as you advance, and communicated.

[20] Henley succeeded Scott in command on the lines at Bedford, N. Y.

[21] Armand's corps was serving with the light troops under Henley on the lines at this time, and Armand himself, being dissatisfied with the treatment he had received from Congress, requested Washington's leave to go to Philadelphia to settle the affairs of his corps and return to France. Washington furnished him with a letter of introduction to Congress. "He considers his honor as interested in having his engagements with his officers fulfilled and *if* he can succeed in this, proposes to return immediately to France. Several of these Gentlemen also, he informs me will accompany him. Under these circumstances as the appointments have been made and the Gentlemen have served a considerable time under those appointments, I take the liberty to recommend it to Congress, to grant commissions agreeable thereto." Washington's letter to the President of Congress, dated Nov. 19, 1778, is in the *Washington Papers*. (See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Aug. 31, 1778, *ante*.)

In the mean time you will direct your utmost exertions to learn every movement which may lead to a positive conclusion with respect to their leaving, or garrisoning New York.

As the troops of Convention are on their way to the North river, on their march to Virginia, you will command the strictest observance of the roads leading from Kingsbridge, as well as in your look outs along the Hudson.

You will also, in case any of the convention troops should straggle down towards you with an intention to escape into New York, have them secured, that they may be sent into the country.

I have no doubt of the faithful execution of these things and of your utmost diligence in the great object of just, constant and authentic intelligence. I am etc.[22]

To COLONEL THOMAS CLARK

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 18, 1778.

Sir: You will be pleased upon the Rect. of this to cross with the two Carolina Regiments at Kings Ferry and proceed immediately to Sufferans and take post at the entrance of the Clove.[23] You will then post small parties at the different passes between that and Hudson's River.

These positions are to prevent the Convention Troops from deserting to the Enemy, while they cross above you on their way to Virginia. You will direct these parties to apprehend such as may escape from their Escort and fall in with them, and put them under proper confinement till they can be sent into the Country. You will occupy this position till further orders. I am &ca.

P. S. As soon as you have certain intelligence that the Convention troops have all passed you may call in the small parties.

[22] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.
[23] Smith's Clove, Highlands, N. Y.

You may in the mean time be repairing and enlarging, if necessary, the Barracks at Sydmans[24] near Sufferans as you may probably winter there.[25]

To MAJOR BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

Fredericksburg, November 18, 1778.

Sir: I wish you would request the person whom you formerly recommended to me, and who Genl. Scott tells me, is to correspond with you, to ascertain the following facts with as much precision and expedition, as possible.

What Corps (without having regard to numbers) are left upon York Island, and the posts at and about Kings Bridge.

What Corps are upon long Island.

Whether any new works are erecting near the City of New York, or the old ones repairing.

Whether any works are erecting, or the old ones repairing on long Island, opposite to the City of New York.

Whether the Troops upon Long Island are stationed, and what appears to be their object, and who commands them.

What General Officers remain on York Island, Long Island, and at the posts at and about Kings Bridge.

Whether Coffins and Andersons Store (chiefly intended for the use of the Army) is still at New York and open.

Whether, as it is suspected that there is some movement in agitation at Rhode Island, the Troops at that place may not be brought to New York.

The reason why I wish to have the Corps (which are left) ascertained, is that I can form a pretty accurate opinion of the numbers from hence, and this is a piece of knowledge that a

[24] Sidman's Clove, Highlands, N. Y.

[25] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

man of common abilities may come at with precision by taking a little pains. With esteem and regard I am, etc.[26]

To LORD STIRLING

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 19, 1778.

My Lord: I am favd. with yours of the 15th. The accounts of the embarkation of the enemy vary so much in respect to Corps and Numbers that, I am every day more and more at a loss. However I hope if your Spies will attend particularly to the observations recommended in my last, we shall be able to ascertain the Corps that remain at New York and its dependencies. I am informed that the persons who are indulged with a liberty of carrying on a small trade to and from New York for the purpose of gaining intelligence, abuse the license to a very great degree; insomuch that many of the well affected Inhabitants complain. I am convinced this is neither done by Your Lordships connivance or permission, and that you will take proper measures to curb this extravagant passion for gain in the persons who are of necessity employed in this Business.

Be pleased to give orders to the commanding Officer of Moylan's Regt. if the Colonel is not himself in the neighbourhood, to collect all the Men and Horses and hold the Regiment ready to move into Quarters. I will consult the Commissary of Forage upon the proper place of Cantonment and inform you in my next where they are to be stationed for the Winter. I am etc.

P. S. Since writing the above, Colo. Biddle has fixed upon the town of Lancaster for the Winter Quarters of Moylans Regt. be therefore pleased to direct them to march without loss of time to that place.[27]

[26] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.
[27] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL

Head Qurs., November 19, 1778.

Sir: If you should not have reached Danbury or very near it with the division before this gets to hand, you will be pleased to halt the two Connecticut Brigades where this shall find you 'till further orders.[28] General Nixon will still proceed to Danbury, as was at first intended. In this case you will inform me where the two Brigades halt. But if you should be very near Danbury with the division, you will continue your march to that place. I am, etc.[29]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JEDIDIAH HUNTINGTON

Fredericksburg, November 19, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have been favoured with your Letter of the 16th. Inst.

I confess I expected that the Connecticut Troops were to receive their Cloathing from Major Bigelow,[30] and was surprised to find, that there was even a wish or an idea to the contrary. I have ever held and, I hope, I ever shall, all the troops of the Army in the same point of light, and as far as it has been in my power they have had equal justice in every instance. In the case under consideration, the Cloathing in the hands of Major Bigelow was allotted to the Connecticut troops, not by any compulsion or wish of mine, but on the most pressing and importunate solicitation of General Parsons, and Other Officers. They feared, that it would be made subject to a common

[28] McDougall, who was at Hartford, had been ordered (November 17) to march immediately to Danbury, where he would be met by further orders.

[29] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[30] Maj. John Bigelow, Assistant Commissary of Clothing.

distribution, and such was the anxiety to obtain it for the Connecticut troops, that arguments were used to shew, that they, from many considerations, had an exclusive claim to it, or at least one superior to any Others. These are facts well known to Genl. Parsons and to other officers, and, at the same time that they must remove every idea of a discrimination on my part injurious to them, which I am happy to beleive never had place in your mind, they must preclude every possible ground of complaint, or right to claim a change, even if the Cloathing drawn by the other troops should be much better. However, notwithstanding all this, as it is my wish to prevent the least possible pretext for uneasiness and to place all the Troops on the same footing, as far as it can be done, I shall be willing to give orders for compleat suits of French Cloathing for all the inlisted men in the Two Connecticut Brigades, under the usual restrictions, provided there shall remain sufficient, after the other Troops are served, who as matters stand I am obliged to consider as entitled to a preference, on your assurances, that all the Cloathing they have already received on Continental account from Major Bigelow or that is now in the Taylors hands, as a supply for the Winter and the ensuing campaign shall be returned to the public Cloathier. This exception I am obliged to make, and these assurances I must require and obtain, in justice to the States and to the rest of the Army. You I am certain will think them right, and will punctually comply with whatever you undertake. We have been fortunate in our supplies of Cloathing, compared to what we have hitherto been, but yet œconomy and an ingenuous conduct are essential to make it serve and to promote equality.

Among the many arguments which were adduced to show how extremely improper it would be to deprive them of these Cloaths it was urged that they had employed their own Taylors,

their own Officers to superintend the business, and that the Cloaths were made to suit the uniforms of the respective Regts. I am, etc.[31]

To JEREMIAH WADSWORTH

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 19, 1778.

Sir: I am to desire that you will immediately give order for establishing as large a Magazine of Flour and Salt meat at Albany as you possibly can without injury to the Army in its Winter Cantonments. I desire that you will also immediately give directions for the establishment of as large a magazine of Flour as you possibly can between No. 4 and the Coos upon Connecticut River. The thousand Barrels of Salt Meat which you say, in yours of the 17th. is already in that Country and on the way thither will be sufficient in that quarter, as should an expedition be carried on from thence, our dependance for meat must be chiefly upon live Cattle to save carriage. I wish every exertion may be made to establish the Magazines at Albany. Be pleased to make a report from time to time of your progress, that I may put a stop should the quantity exceed what I think will be the demand. But of which I imagine there is not much danger from your late representations. I am, etc.

P. S. Let this be done with as little stir as possible.[32]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 20, 1778.

Sir: Mr. Wheelock[33] will have the honor of presenting this letter to your Excellency. He waits on Congress upon the affairs of a regiment under the command of Colonel Bedel,[34] which it

[31] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[32] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[33] Lieut. Col. John Wheelock, of Bedel's Vermont Militia regiment.
[34] Col. Timothy Bedel, of Bedel's Vermont Militia regiment.

seems was raised in the Coos Country, or at least has been kept up since March last, upon the recommendation of the Marquis Fayette, when at Albany. This Corps, according to the inclosed state[35] by Mr. Wheelock, who is the Lieut. Colo. to which I beg leave to refer Congress, and according to other information I have received, was at first assembled under the direction of Major Genl. Gates about this time twelve Month for the purpose of a sudden enterprise against St. Johns and the Enemy's armed Vessels lying there, and was engaged till the last of March. I cannot undertake to say in what manner or how usefully this regiment has been employed or to what extent in point of men, but Mr. Wheelock says it has been of great service. And the object of his present journey is to obtain the direction of Congress for their being paid, when proper rolls are produced; and their determination whether it is to be disbanded now, or continued till April next, the period for which the men are said to have engaged, tho' the Marquis's recommendation extended only to the end of the present Campaign. The Regt. may or may not be necessary in future. Much will depend on the system of conduct the Enemy pursue the next Campaign and on our own operations. I would observe under its present engagement, its services were to be local or at least confined to a certain Quarter. If it should be deemed expedient to reinlist it, if practicable it should be done on the general scale of acting wherever it may be requisite; tho' perhaps it may not be possible to accomplish it; and in such case it will also be material for the Public to have a more perfect knowledge of its arrangements than what I apprehend it has hitherto had. I have the honor etc.[36]

[35] The original statement, written and signed by Wheelock, is in the *Washington Papers*. It is dated from Paulings Precinct, Nov. 20, 1778. A copy is filed in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

[36] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. The letter was read in Congress on November 27 and is indorsed by Thomson: "Ordered that the regiment be disbanded."

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, November 20, 1778.

Dear Sir: You are upon the Receipt hereof to proceed to Danbury with General Poors Brigade and send on General Pattersons and Learneds by the most direct Route to Fishkills. Should Genl. Poors, agreeable to my orders of yesterday, have marched on towards Fishkill, you will be pleased to countermand them and turn them back to Danbury. The two Connecticut Brigades are also ordered to Danbury, at which place you are to wait further orders. Desire Genl. Patterson to proceed with the two Massachusetts Brigades as expeditiously as possible to Fishkills. I am etc.[37]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Fredericksburg, November 20, 1778.

Dear Sir: On the 17th. I wrote you that Genl. Poor, with his Brigade was to proceed to Enfield to conduct the Convention troops to Fish Kill landing.

On the 18, having received a Letter from Colo. Bland, advising that the Van of the Convention Troops had reached Enfield on the 13 and that proper Escorts of Militia were provided; and supposing that the whole would have passed that place before my Letter of the 17 could come to hand, I countermanded my order to Genl. Poor as to his taking charge of the Convention troops, and directed him to proceed by the shortest route to Fish Kill.

Supposing that the Convention Troops were under the care of the Militia as last above mentioned, and having altered the

[37] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and has the following crossed out at the end: "You shall have my further orders respecting barracking the troops and other necessary directions."

destination of *Genl. Poor's Brigade to Danbury* instead of Fish Kills. I wrote you to day to proceed with it to Danbury. Since this I received your Letter of the 19th, informing me that you had just received mine of the 17th; that Genl. Poor would immediately march to take charge of the Convention Troops, and that their 3d Division was the day before at Simsbury.

Now this is to acquaint you that if General Poor is with the Convention Troops, in consequence of my first Letter of the 17th., he is to proceed with them to Fish Kill landing, notwithstanding my intermediate Orders to the contrary, altho he is ultimately to go to Danbury, otherwise, the Convention Troops will probably be without a guard, as the Militia it is likely upon his taking the care of them is returned to their Homes. But if he is not with the Convention Troops, and they are still under the escort of the Militia, they will bring them on and you will proceed with his Brigade to Danbury agreeable to the Order of this morning. Genl. Patterson with the 2 Massachusetts Brigades will advance to Fish Kill as expeditiously as he can. You will communicate these Orders to Genl. Poor, as I dont write to him. I am, etc.

P. S. If Genl. McDougal is at Hartford,[38] do inform him I wish to see him immediately.[39]

To BARON DE KALB

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, November 20, 1778.

Sir: You will be pleased to cross the North River with your whole division, including your baggage and artillery, before the arrival of the Convention troops; and take post at the Fork

[38] On this same day (November 20) Washington wrote to General McDougall or the officer commanding his division to "give orders for Genl. Nixons Brigade to get in motion, and, with their Baggage and Artillery proceed without loss of time to the Continental Village." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[39] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

of the roads leading to Chester,[40] and through Smith's Clove, till the Convention troops begin their march from New Burgh, for the Delaware. Immediately preceeding this, General Smallwoods brigade will move to Chester, or rather a little beyond Chester, on the road leading thence to Pompton and there remain till the rear of the Convention troops has past. You will at the same time, march with the other brigade of your division to Smiths Tavern or beyond it, on the road passing through the Clove, and there continue, for the security of the pass, till the rear of the Convention troops is arrived at Chester. When the whole of these troops have passed Chester, both your Brigades will commence their march for middle brook.

The two Brigades will keep proper guards and use the greatest vigilance to prevent any of the Convention troops passing below them, either on pretence of desertion or otherwise. They will also keep a steady eye to West Point, and concert measures for affording immediate succour to the Fort on an emergency.

The two regiments ordered to the Continental village are to be recalled.

The number of men directed in my letter of the 18th are to be furnished as guards to the Convention troops; but for particular reasons, I should prefer to have regiments instead of detachments from the whole division applied to this duty. But they must not materially exceed the number prescribed nor must they be commanded by officers superior in rank to Colo. Bland, to avoid which you will select those corps whose Colonels are absent. I am, etc.

P. S. The direction given in my last for sending stragglers from the Convention troops into the Country and not to rejoin their corps is to be observed.[41]

[40] In Orange County, N. Y.

[41] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON

Head Quarters, November 20, 1778.

Dear Sir: Upon receipt of this letter you will be pleased to proceed immediately to Albany, or the place to which General Hand may have gone; previously, however, directing the two Regiments of your brigade to follow you, in case they have not already set out, and to wait your orders[42] at Albany.

General Hand receives my directions to take the command at the Minisink, in which I have (for the present) included Colonel Cortlandts Regiment, now at Rochester. You will deliver him the inclosed letter, left open for your information, in which I have desired a free communion of sentiment and cooperation of force. You will therefore consult with General Hand, on the plans he may have in contemplation, whether offensive against the Indians, or for giving greater security to the frontiers.

It is my wish that you should make the best possible disposition, and such arrangements as appear most consistent with your combined strength. I am, etc.[43] [M. L.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 20, 1778.

Sir: Since mine of the 16th. your missing letter of the 10th. and another of the 11th. have come to hand. A supply of Cloathing for the 4th. Pennsylvania Regt. and the Rifle Corps has been ordered up by Captn. Cobourn[44] of Colo. Alden's Regt. and I hope it may be arrived with them by this time.

[42] The draft has "further orders."

[43] In the writing of James McHenry.

[44] Capt. Asa Coburn, of the Seventh Massachusetts Regiment. He served to June, 1783.

The exigency of Affairs to the Northward having required an additional number of troops to be sent thither, I have ordered up the New York Brigade as being most convenient and suitable upon several accounts. Genl. James Clinton their own Brigadier going with them will of course supersede you, and as the whole force in that quarter will not admit of being divided into commands suitable for two General Officers, I have thought it would be more agreeable to you to remove down to the Minisink settlement and take the command of a Body of troops which we are under the necessity of assembling there to protect that Frontier against the incursions of the Indians. The Corps at the Minisink will consist of Count Pulaski's Legion, Colo. Armands Corps and Colo. Spencers Regt. making about 500 Horse and Foot. Colo. Cortlands Regt. is at Rochester in the neighbourhood of Minisink. This Regiment, tho' part of Genl. Clintons Brigade, will remain under your command for the present. The troops upon the Susquehanna (tho pretty remote) consisting of Colo. Hartley's Regiment and two independent Companies will also be under your general direction, should there be any means of cooperation. I have just heard that the Indians have again appeared at Wyoming and threaten that quarter seriously.

If you have in consequence of my last formed any plans of offence you will be pleased to communicate them to Genl. Clinton and repair as speedily as possible to Minisink and inform me upon your arrival there. As Govr. Clinton goes himself to the Frontier, he will be the best judge of the propriety of taking the ranging Companies into pay again. I send you a Copy of Colo Hartleys letter[45] by which you will perceive the situation of Matters upon Susquehanna. I am &ca.[46]

[45] This letter of Hartley's is not found in the *Washington Papers*.
[46] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To COLONEL WILLIAM MALCOM

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, November 20, 1778.

Sir: I have received your favours of the 12th. and 16th. You express a desire in the former to make a visit to Head Quarters to represent the state of the Garrison.[47] Unless the necessity be very urgent I wish you to defer it awhile, as the arrival of the Convention troops at the North River will make your presence at the Fort very necessary.

While they are near and passing the River, you will see the propriety of using the greatest vigilance and of having your guard boats constantly on the look out both across and down the river and well manned, as well to prevent desertion, as to be advertised in time of any attempt from below to effect a rescue, which though perhaps not a very probable is a possible event.

I thank you for the intelligence communicated in your last and wish you to continue your measures for obtaining advice of what is going on with the enemy. I am etc.[48]

To COLONEL DAVID HENLEY

November 20, 1778.

Sir: I received your two favors both of yesterdays date. I inclose you a form[49] something of the nature of that mentioned in my last. You will observe the important columns, or those most in our power to fill up, are the Regiments and corps, the works, their strength, where situated and by whom commanded. These ideas[50] may be obtained, with a good deal of

[47] At West Point, N. Y.
[48] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[49] A copy of this form is in the *Washington Papers* under date of Nov. 20, 1778.
[50] McHenry wrote, at first, "matters" and then changed it to "ideas."

precision from deserters and spies. But as most of the other objects are removed from common observation, they may only serve to perplex our observers, and may therefore be omitted unless where you find them very intelligent and attentive.

You may inform Colonel Sherman[51] that he may join his Regiment the moment the troops go into winter quarters, which will be in a very short time. This answer will also apply to those officers of the light corps who have requested furloughs as they will return to their respective Regiments and of course are comprehended in the general order on this subject.

The inclosures to Sir Henry Clinton[52] you will be pleased to send in by flag. I am &ca.

P. S. Above all things try to ascertain the corps and Genl. Officers which remain since the two embarkations.[53]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL PETER MUHLENBERG

The two Virginia Brigades under Command of Brigadier General Muhlenberg are to march by the following Route.

From Robinson's house	Miles
to Kings ferry and there cross the River . . .	14.
to Kakiyate	9.
to Peramus	12.
to Acquakanunk bridge	14.
to Newark	9.
to Spring field	9.
to Middle brook	19

[51] Lieut. Col. Isaac Sherman, of the Second Connecticut Regiment. He was commandant of the Eighth Connecticut Regiment in October, 1779; transferred to the Fifth Connecticut Regiment in January, 1781; retired in January, 1783.

[52] "I am charged by Congress to transmit the inclosed resolution on the case of Lt. Colonel Conolly."—*Washington to Sir Henry Clinton,* Nov. 20, 1778. The resolution was that of November 17, confining Connolly to his room and forbidding any person to converse with him until the further order of Congress.

[53] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

Camp Fredericksburg, November 20, 1778.

Sir: You will have every thing in readiness and as soon as you hear that two divisions of the Convention troops have crossed at Fishkill you will begin your march by the above Route. You will either send your sick to Fishkill or lodge them at Robertsons House[54] as the Surgeons shall advise.

On your arrival at Middle brook you will be shewn the Ground allotted for your Troops to hut on. I am etc.[55]

To MAJOR BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

Head Quarters, November 20, 1778.

Sir: I was favoured with your letter of yesterday. You will be pleased to observe the strictest silence with respect to C——,[56] as you are to be the only person intrusted with the knowledge or conveyance of his letters. I am etc.[57]

To COLONEL CLEMENT BIDDLE

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, November 20, 1778.

In consideration of the absolute necessity of it to the public service, from the impossibility of procuring sufficient supplies otherwise; You are hereby authorised to impress forage necessary for the consumption of the army, from the inhabitants as well of this State in the vicinity of camp, as on the borders of Connecticut and those residing on the routes through the Jerseys, by which any body of troops shall march, having regard to the real wants of the inhabitants and paying the established

[54] Beverley Robinson's, opposite West Point, N. Y.

[55] The draft is partially in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[56] Aaron Woodhull, of Setauket, L. I., who sent in secret intelligence over the name of Samuel Culper.

[57] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

price for what you shall so impress.[58] This Warrant to continue in force a month from the date hereof.[59] [H. S. P.]

*To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Fredericksburg, November 20[–21], 1778.

My dear Sir: Congress seem to have a strong desire to undertake an Expedition against Canada. The practicability, of it depends, upon the employment the Enemy intend to give us on the Sea board next Campaign, on *their* strength in Canada, the State of *our* resources, and other circumstances, some of which are too much buried in obscurity, others too much in the field of conjecture to form any decisive opinion of at this time; But there is not a moment to spare in preparing for such an event, if, hereafter, it should be found expedient to undertake it.

In your Letter of the 9th. Ulto., which you did me the favor of writing upon this Subject, you are opposed to an Enterprize against Canada by the way of Co'os, and assign cogent reasons for not making it a *principal* dependance.[60] You are also against the rout by Oswego; but as an Expedition that way had not been suggested, you do not touch upon the reasons; but recomd. the common rout by the way of Lake Champlain; and a Winter Expedition if the Ice will admit of it.

[58] Biddle had urged this on Quartermaster General Nathanael Greene, and Greene had written to Washington: "I am perswaded it will be impossible to subsist the Cattle belonging to the Army here [Fredericksburg] unless there is a Press Warrant granted to aid the Forage Master. I shall take great care that no improper use is made of the Warrant." Greene's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[59] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[60] Schuyler argued that as the distance from Albany to Coos was 200 miles "a great part of the road leads thro a very mountainous Country and such are the roads that any kind of Carriages that pass do It with great difficulty, here then is a land Carriage of near three hundred hard that is from Albany to Coos and from thence Into Canada, and one third of this distance thro an uninhabited Country, where not a mouthful of Forrage is to be had." He added to this that the St. Lawrence would have to be crossed; that it could not be bridged and that it was impossible to transport a sufficient number of batteaux through the Wilderness. Schuyler's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

In general, Winter Campaigns are destructive to Troops; and nothing but pressing necessity, and the best state of preparation can justify them. I fear neither the State of our Provisions, the condition of our Men, nor the situation of our Officers (whose distresses on acct. of the uncommonly high prices of every necessary of life, are a source of general discontent and indifference to the Service) would warrant the undertaking; even if the state of the Lakes, and the force of Canada, should invite the Measure. I am clear also that neither force nor Stratagem, can give us a well grounded hope of a decisive Superiority in Naval strength, upon Lake Champlain, where the Enemy are, at present, so powerful.

Your scheme for preparing Materials for building two large Ships upon this Lake is plausible, and if only one or two were entrusted with the Secret, practicable. But when fifty Men are to be consulted, before the measure can be adopted; When a number of these, (inattentive to the importance of keeping Military Manœuvres secret) make matter of incautious, if not common conversation of the Plans in contemplation, and a knowledge of them by that means gets into the hands of the Enemy's emissaries, who are industrious in acquiring, and diligent in communicating every piece of useful information, I say when this is the case, I can entertain but little hope of success from a project of this kind.

If from these considerations, a Winters Expedition is found impracticable, or unadvisable; If the conquest of the Enemy's Fleet on lake Champlain is not to be accomplished by force, nor by stratagem; And if an Enterprize by the way of Co'os is inadmissible as a primary object.

1st. What door is left open for an Expedition against Canada?

2d. How far is there a moral certainty of extending the American Arms into that Country in the course of next Campaign?

3d. And how far short of the entire conquest, and annexation of Canada to the Union, would give permanent peace and security to the Frontiers of these States?

In considering these points, and such others as may hereafter occur, it will be necessary to take the matter up in two points of view; presuming in the one case, that the Enemy will evacuate the United States. in the other, that they mean to retain New York and Rhode Island as Garrison Towns. In discussing them with that freedom and candor which I [mean][61] to do, you will readily perceive that [it is my][62] wish to enter into an unlimited, and confidential corrispondance with you on this subject. Where then, in addition to the above queries,

4th. Lie the difficulties of an Expedition against Canada by the way of Lake Ontario?

5th. Why did General Amherst take this rout (when lake Champlain was open, free, and so much more direct) if he did not foresee that some apparent advantages were to be derived from it?

6th. What resources can be drawn from the State of New York towards the support of an Expedition of this kind?

7th. At what places would it be necessary to establish Posts between Albany and Oswego, for the support of the communication, and Security of Convoys? and

8th. How many Men will be required at each Post for the above purposes? and at Oswego?

I mean to hazard my thoughts upon a Plan of operations for next Campaign, if the Enemy should evacuate these States and leave us at liberty but being unacquainted with the Country,

[61] Washington wrote first "it is requisite," which Hamilton crossed out and wrote "mean," but omitted the personal pronoun, which Washington inserted afterwards.

[62] Washington wrote "I mean to." Hamilton's change was again incomplete, and Washington added "wish to" to complete the sense. Throughout this draft the words in brackets have been inserted by Hamilton.

and many other matters essentially necessary to form a right judgment upon so extensive a project I am sensible that it will be very defective and shall consider it as the part of friendship in you, to observe upon every part of my plan, with the utmost freedom.

I have already laid it down as a position, that unless a Winters Expedition can be undertaken with Success (opposed to which, in addition to the reasons already assigned, the want of Provisions I find is an almost insuperable bar) or the Fleet at St. Johns can by some means or other be destroyed, [the][63] door into Canada [by way of Lake Champlain] is effectually closed;[64] I am further of opinion that the distance of Land Carriage by the way of Co'os for Flour, Stores &ca. is too great to expect that a sufficient body of Troops can be introduced through that rout to answer *singly* any valuable purpose; [and] I am [therefore], naturally, [led] to turn my thoughts to the Rout by the way of Oswego though the same kind of difficulties but not in so great a degree, present themselves here, as on the other Lake.

If I am not mistaken with respect to the Water carriage from Schenectady to Oswego, by the help of finesse, and false appearances, a pretty large stride may be taken towards obtaining a Naval superiority on lake Ontario before the real design would be unfolded.

The plan I would adopt shd. be this. By inuendos and oblique hints, [I would endeavour to inculcate an idea] that we were determined to acquire the Mastery of lake Champlain; and to give currency to this belief, I would have the Saw Mills about Fort Ann and Fort Edwd. set to Work to prepare plank for Bat-

[63] Washington first wrote "that that," which is crossed out.

[64] The words in brackets were inserted by Alexander Hamilton, after Washington had crossed out the following: "the Naval strength on Lake Champlain being too great for us to equal by the building."

teaux, and such kind of Armed Vessels as may be proper for lake Ontario. I would go further, and tho it should be inconvenient, and expensive, I would build the Batteaux, and bring the Timber for larger Vessels to some place or places that might serve to confirm an Idea of this kind. A Plan of this sort if well conceived and digested, and executed [with secrecy], might I think deceive, so far as to draw the attention of the Enemy to Lake Champlain, at the expence of Ontario; especially as part of my plan is to advance a respectable body of Troops at a proper Season to Co'os, for purposes which will be mentioned hereafter.

In the Spring, when every thing is ripe for execution, and the real design can no longer be concealed, I would advance with the utmost celerity (consistent with proper caution) to Oswego; in the Batteaux which have been provided (apparently) for Champlain, transporting the Armed Vessels in pieces to the same place. But here I am to ask if this is practicable? My knowledge of the Water Communication from Schenectady to Oswego, is not sufficiently accurate to form a decided opinion upon the possibility of this Measure; and if it is not to be effected, my plan in part fails; and we can only provide the Materials under false colours, and depend upon out building the Enemy to obtain the superiority of the Lake. Whether [the superiority can be obtained in this manner] I am [not well] able[65] to determine, tho it is very necessary to be known, as it is the corner Stone of the superstructure. Much will depend upon the practicability of the Enemys getting Vessels, or materials for vessels from lake Champlain or Montreal to the navigation above la galette; because I [proceed][66] upon the principle, that if we can deceive them effectually, their whole attention will be

[65] Washington wrote "unable." Hamilton changed it, as above.
[66] Washington wrote "go."

drawn to the more interior parts of the Country, and of course their Ship Carpenters, and Materials for Ship building, will be imployed that way.

The foregoing is a summary of my [Capital][67] movement; to facilitate wch. I would, as has been before observed, advance a body of Men from the Co'os. The motions of these should be regulated precisely by those of the [main][68] army, establishing Posts as they go, for the purposes of retreat (in case of necessity) and to protect convoys if the [main][68] Army should be able to penetrate Canada as far as Montreal.

Several advantages will be derived from the advance of a body of Troops by the way of Co'os; first, strengthening the belief, that we mean to enter by the way of St. John's; Secondly it will serve to distract the Enemy in their Councils and measures, [and] either divide their force and render them weak at all points, or by keeping them collected, expose the interior, or exterior part of the Country to a Successful and fortunate blow, from one or the other of these bodies, and will, [in the third place],[69] open a communication for ample supplies of live Cattle, if we should have occasion for them for Troops in Canada.

Under this plan, it is not only possible, but to be expected, that the Enemy, if they should come at the knowledge of our real designs would oppose their whole Naval force to our Troops on lake Ontario, and their Land force against those by the way of Co'os. In this case I should be glad of solutions to the questions wch follow.

9th. Is there any practicable rout from Johnson Hall or any other part of the Mohawk River, or from the upper parts of Hudsons River, to a River emptying itself into the St. Lawrence

[67] Washington wrote "general."
[68] Washington wrote "grand."
[69] Washington wrote "thirdly."

a little above la galette, by which we could avoid lake Ontario and the Armed Vessels on those Waters altogether? and If this is not to be effected, and a superiority on the lake [is] despaired of, then, [I should wish to be informed.]

10th. Whether Niagara can be approached with an Army and the necessary apparatus by a rout which will avoid this Lake?

11th. What will be the distance of the March from Fort Schuyler? the kind of Country thro which it is to [be made]?[70] and the difficulties that are to be expected? and lastly

12th. The advantages, and disadvantages of Maintaining that Post, after possessing it? Canada[71] remaining in the hands of the Enemy.

For the more certain reduction of Niagara, and for the Peace and safety of the Frontiers of Pensylvania and Virginia, a part of my plan is to advance a body of Troops from Pittsburg by the way of Alligany, la beauf (or French Creek) and Prisquile to the above Post, if it be practicable, of which I am not certain, as the Enemy have Armed Vessels on lake Erie and I am ignorant of the kind of Country between Prisquile and Niagara, in case it is to be attempted by a Land March. But admitting the impracticability of this, an Expedition to Detroit which Congress meditated last Fall, and still have in contemplation, will keep the Indians in that Quarter employed, and prevent them from affording succour to the Garrison at Niagara. The preparations necessary to the one [will][72] answer for the other; while the one to Niagara may be [concealed][73] under the Idea of going to Detroit.

Although, under the present appearance of things, it is a matter of very great doubt whether we shall be in circumstances

[70] Washington wrote "pass."
[71] The word "still" has here been crossed out.
[72] Washington wrote "answering."
[73] Washington wrote "hid."

to prosecute a project of this kind, I have, nevertheless, given orders for Magazines of Provisions to be laid in at Albany and on Connecticut River from the lower Co'os to No. 4; and have ordered the Saw Mills abt. Fort Ann &ca. to be set to Work, and shall be obliged to you for your advice to Colo. Lewis[74] on this occasion.

If it should fall in your way to ascertain with precision, the Number and strength of the Vessels upon Lake Ontario, and down to la galette, and the force of the Garrisons at Niagara, Oswegatchie &ca., I shall thank you; and must beg leave to remind you of the mode you suggested to procure intelligence from Canada in the course of the Winter, as it is of infinite importance to be well informed of the strength, expectation, and preparation of the Enemy; and to receive the acct. through different Channels is also essential, to avoid deception.

I shall be very happy to see you at the head Quarters of the Army in your way to Philadelphia whenever it happens. Governor Clinton wrote me that he should be at Albany in the course of a few days; as I have implicit confidence in him it will be quite agreeable to me that you should converse largely with him upon the sevl. matters herein contained, and then furnish me with your observations upon my Plan, and the most effectual means of carrying it, or some other into execution; with the necessary preparations to be made during the Winter. With the greatest esteem, etc.

21st., P. S. Since writing this Letter I have seen a very intelligent Man who was many years a liver at and about Detroit. He was sent Prisoner in May last from that Post to Quebec, and from Quebec escaped the 7th. of October. He has given me a very accurate acct. of the Enemys' Naval force on the two Lakes

[74] Col. Morgan Lewis, deputy quartermaster general, Northern Department.

(Erie and Ontario) at the time he was in that Country[75] but I should still be glad to see how far other Accts. corrispond with his and whether they have made any late progress in ship building since that period. He is particular also in his acct. of the strength of the Garrisons of Michilamakinack, Detroit, Niagara, and Oswegatchie as they stood in the Spring, and adds that at the time he passed down the River, the Enemy were removing Cannon from Oswegatchie to Buck Island which place he understood they meant to fortify. When he left Canada Genl. Haldiman with most of the Troops were at the Mouth of the Sorrel, very busy in fortifying that Post and strengthening themselves above on that River, the received opinion in the Country being that an Expedition would be undertaken.

*To LIEUTENANT GEORGE AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON[76]

Head Quarters, Fredg., November 21, 1778.

Sir: Your Letter came to my hands last Night. I have wrote to Majr. Lee on the subject.[77] When his answer arrives, you will hear further from me on the subject of it. I am, &c.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 21, 1778.

Sir: I had the honor of your Excellency's two favors of the 14th and 15th Inst. with their several inclosures.

[75] John Dodge. His account is in the *Washington Papers* under the date of November, 1778, and is indorsed by Washington "John Dodge's acct. of the strength of the Forts and vessells on Lakes Erie and Ontario. Note—he left Detroit in May—& Quebec in October 1778."

[76] Of Lee's Partisan Light Dragoons. He resigned in December, 1778; was made ensign in the Second Virginia Regiment in 1780; lieutenant of same in May, 1781; aide to Lafayette in 1781; served to close of the war.

[77] Not found in the *Washington Papers*.

The consideration of Doctor Conolly's case, with the resolution of Congress, I have transmitted to Sir Henry Clinton.

In my letter of the 16th. I communicated to your Excellency the attempt on Fort Alden, by the savages. I have since received the inclosed dispatches confirming that disagreeable account.[78] I also informed Congress at the same time with the steps which were taken for the security of the frontier of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the Western part of New York, and that the two remaining regiments of General Clintons Brigade were ordered to Albany. I have to regret that the condition of affairs is such, as does not admit of a compliance with repeated detachments from this army. However that every thing possible might be done under our present circumstances, Genl Hand was further instructed, on the 16th instant, to confer with General Schuyler at Albany, and with those persons, in that part of the Country, who could in any manner assist in forming his judgment on the best measures to be pursued, with the troops which were employed in the several quarters. And yesterday I changed his command to that of the Minisincks and forwarded him an extract from Colo. Hartley's Letter of the 9th that he might accommodate his dispositions to recent events. I have only to add on this subject, that on the 20th. Brigr. General Clinton set out to take the command at Albany, with directions to consult with Genl Hand, and to form with him, such combined arrangements, as may appear most consistent with their united strength. I am, etc.

P. S. As the troops of Convention are approaching the North River, I am throwing over a part of the army, in order to form

[78] Copies of Governor Clinton's letter of November 17, of Brig. Gen. Abraham Ten Broeck's of November 12, Lieut. Col. Alexander Webster's of November 11, General Hand's of November 15, Col. Goose Van Schaick's of November 15, Col. Jellis Fonda's of November 14, Lieut. Col. James Gordon's of November 14, and Maj. Daniel Whiting's of November 13—all reporting the massacre in Cherry Valley—are filed with this letter from Washington in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.*

a line of posts paralel to their march, for the greater security of the several passes leading to the River.[79]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Saturday, November 21, 1778.

Parole Labrador. Countersigns Lynn, Leghorn.

Five hundred men from the Pennsylvania line properly officered to march tomorrow morning to Sharon to escort the Convention troops to Hudson's River.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Sunday, November 22, 1778.

Parole Waldeck. Countersigns Walpole, Wales.

Lieutenant James Lord[80] of the 1st. Connecticut Battalion is appointed Pay Master for the same from September 9th. 1778.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JEDIDIAH HUNTINGTON

November 22, 1778.

Dear Sir: In consequence of a Letter this minute received from Colo. Bland who is conducting the march of the Convention

[79] In the writing of James McHenry. The letter was read in Congress on November 27 and referred to the Board of War.

On November 21 Washington wrote again to Congress, introducing "young Mr. Penet," for whom Pierre Penet petitioned a brevet captaincy on condition that young Ignatius Penet would immediately return to France. Washingon "endeavoured to discourage the application, but the footing on which he placed it, and the consideration that the house to which he belonged engaged very early in a commercial intercourse with this country, in the present contest induced me finally so far to comply, as to promise that I would communicate his request to Congress." (This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.) On Jan. 6, 1781, Congress appointed Ignatius Penet a lieutenant in Armand's Legion, in which he served to the close of the war.

[80] He was transferred to the Fourth Connecticut Regiment in January, 1781, and to the Second Connecticut Regiment in January, 1783; served to June of that year.

troops and whose Van would be at Sharon last night, I am under the necessity of detaching a part of the Pensylvania Brigades to escort them from thence to the North River. This detachment with the several guards furnished by them, leaves this pass almost destitute of Men. I therefore request that you will order One of the Connecticut Brigades to move as soon as possible to this Camp, that it may be secure against every possible accident. As the Brigade will only remain here while the Convention troops are moving to and passing the North River and will then return, you will order no more baggage to be brought with it than can be possibly helped. I am, etc.

P. S. I dont imagine Genl. McDougal has returned yet; but if he has you will be pleased to inform him, that I wish to see him, as soon as he can arrive here.

The Brigade coming to Camp can occupy its old ground or any that may be better.

The Connecticut Militia are not to guard the Convention troops farther than the boundary of the State, which makes the escort I have mentioned necessary from thence.[81]

To COLONEL THEODORICK BLAND

Head Quarters, 8 O'Clock A. M., November 22, 1778.

Dear Sir: Yours of last evening reached me at day Break this morning. The Continental troops will march from hence in an hour and will have orders to proceed untill they meet the troops of the Convention. I have directed one hundred Men to advance quickly before the rest. You will therefore put the first division in motion as soon as possible after this reaches you, they may march the distance between Sharon and the place where they will meet the Continental troops even without an

[81] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

escort, tho' I hope some of the Militia will from Colo. Meade's letter,[82] be prevailed upon to come as far as Mabbits.[83] Altho' none of the Officers are to be permitted upon any terms to go into New York yet if they incline to write you may inform them that their letters shall be forwarded. I am &ca.[84]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, November 23, 1778.

Sir: John Temple Esqr[85] will have the honor of presenting this to your Excellency. I do not know what Mr. Temple's views are; but it seems he has some application to make to Congress. I never had, till now, the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with him, but from the terms in which Mr. Bowdoin[86] speaks of him, as your Excellency will perceive by the inclosed letter, and from other recommendations I have had of him, I consider him as a Gentleman of sense and merit and of warm attachment to the rights of his Country, for which he appears to have suffered greatly in the present contest. I have the honor, etc.[87]

[82] Lieut. Col. Richard Kidder Meade's letter of November 21 from Sharon to Lieut. Col. Alexander Hamilton, a copy of which is in the *Washington Papers*.

[83] Samuel Mabbit, in Dutchess County, N. Y.

[84] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[85] John Temple came from England in 1776, with a considerable sum of money furnished him by the ministry. Judge Thomas Jones, in his *History of New York During the Revolutionary War* (New York: 1879), vol. 1, pp. 85–88, speaks rather bitterly of him as an American sympathizer, who was pampered undeservedly by the British Government while staunch loyalists were ignored. "He went to Boston, proved himself a whig persecuted by Great Britain, from there to Congress, never saw the commissioners, spent the money, and returned to England; did no good in America, but much harm, and is now in full enjoyment of an office of great consequence." He married a daughter of James Bowdoin, but aroused suspicions in several quarters as to his purpose in coming to America. Samuel Adams, and others of the New England delegation, labored strenuously against those suspicions. After the Revolution Temple was appointed consul general to the United States at a salary of £1,500, which was the "office of great consequence" alluded to by Judge Jones.

[86] Former president of the Massachusetts Council.

[87] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 23, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have been honrd. with yours of the 23d October, inclosing an extract of an Act of the State of Virginia for recruiting the Continental Army. The Bounties and other encouragements offered by this Act are so liberal that I think if Men cannot be induced to inlist on such terms, it will be in vain to think of offering any thing higher. I have transmitted a Copy to each of the Officers commanding the three Virginia Brigades, but have not yet heard whether it has had any influence upon the Men.

I have upwards of twenty thousand dollars in my hands belonging to the state, the Ballance of Money which was deposited last Spring, to pay such as would reinlist upon a Bounty of twenty dollars. I shall apply that money as far as it will go, to the payment of the Bounties offered by the late Act, should I be called upon by the Officers. Should that be expended I will call upon Mr. Morse.[88] Agent to the state, as you direct, and I shall be very happy should the success of recruiting be such as to oblige me to draw upon your Delagates in Congress for a further Sum. I am &c.[89]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 23, 1778.

Sir: I have your favr. of the 12th. inclosing a Copy of the Invoice of the different Articles ordered from Europe for the supply of the Year 1779. The estimate of Cloathing appears to be

[88] Capt. John Moss (Morse), Virginia agent.
[89] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

liberal. I am not so well acquainted with the demands of the Artillery and Quarter Master Departments, but I will consult the Gentlemen at the Head of them and if any thing is deficient, I will acquaint the Board, that they may endeavour to make it up by an after order.

The Cargo of the Frigate Providence[90] cannot be better disposed of than at Springfield, from whence the Articles may be brought to the Army as they are wanted.

Major Nicholas arrived yesterday from the Eastward; from him I learn that 20,011 suits of Uniform had been brought on to Springfield which are all of those imported from France, exclusive of those lately arrived in the Frigate Providence. By this account there is a deficiency of upwards of 3,000 suits. There being now a sufficiency of the French Cloathes for the whole Army, the Board may, if they think proper, stop Otis and Andrews from making up any more Cloth, and direct them to bestow their whole attention to making up and forwarding shirts, which are much wanted.

In mine of the 18th. I desired the Board might make a requisition for the Militia of the Counties of Northampton, Berks, Lancaster and York for the escort of the Convention troops through Pennsylvania; their route being since changed for the convenience of Forage and provision they will now pass the Delaware at Sherrards Ferry and therefore the Board will be pleased to require the Militia of Bucks and Philada. in lieu of those of Northampton and Berks, as they will pass below those Counties.

[90] "I am greatly pleased with the gallant circumstances of your passage through a blockaded harbour; and much obliged for the detail of your voyage. It was very agreeable to hear of your safe arrival, with the valuable articles of your invoice."—*Washington to Capt. Abraham Whipple,* Nov. 25, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.* Captain Whipple, in the *Providence,* had run the British blockade, after a smart engagement with two British frigates, and arrived at Portsmouth, N. H., from Brest, France, with a cargo of blankets, uniforms, and military and medical supplies.

I have never seen or had any report from the new Commy. of Hides. Upon the Receipt of your letter I sent for him, but found that he had gone to Jersey. His deputy in Camp knew nothing of any steps that had been taken by him or any arrangements made by him since he came into Office. Upon his return, I will make enquiry of him what he has done and desire him to report to the Board. I am &c.[91]

To COLONEL LAMBERT CADWALADER

Head Quarters, November 23, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am to acknowledge your letter of the 7th. Ulto., which I have this day transmitted the committee of arrangement for their particular consideration.

You may be assured I shall be very happy if any mode can be settled by you and the Committee, which may give mutual satisfaction, or continue you in service.[92] I am, etc.

To COLONEL THEODORICK BLAND

Fredericksburg, November 23, 1778.

Sir: As you have not yet had a route given you beyond the North River, I am to desire that you continue the march of the Convention troops by way of New Windsor to Sussex Court House, to Hackets Town to Sherrards ferry by Pitts Town, to White Horse on the lancaster road, to Lancaster and thence by

[91] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[92] Cadwalader had been made prisoner at Fort Washington, N. Y., in November, 1776, and was now on parole. The question was as to his right to a command when exchanged.

"I could wish the committee to consider, if there is any method, yet remaining, by which his scruples might be removed, and the affair settled in a conclusive and satisfactory manner."—*Washington to the Committee of Arrangement of Congress*, Nov. 23, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

the usual route through York in Pennsylvania, Frederickstown in Maryland [and Leesburg in Virginia]. In the further progress of the march, I shall not give you any particular directions; you will regulate it according to your own judgment, the information you receive and the arrangements of the Commissary with respect to provisions.

On the other side the North River, you will apply to Baron De Kalb, who has been directed to furnish proper escorts from his division to guard the troops as far as the Delaware. I have written to the Board of War to obtain the necessary orders for the Pensylvania militia to conduct you through that State, and to Governor Johnson to make the proper arrangements through the State of Maryland. To prevent a possibility of unnecessary delay, You will send on from county to County to the commanding officer of the militia in each to give notice of your approach to their respective limits and the precise time you expect to arrive, and you will give this warning a sufficient time before hand, to allow ample leisure for calling out the militia. In Pensylvania you will pass through the Counties of Bucks, Philadelphia, Lancaster and York.

The distance of the Seat of Government in Virginia, from those parts through which you pass, prevents my calling in the usual way for the escorts of Militia through that state; I have written a circular letter to the Commanding Officers in the several Counties, which you will transmit as you advance in the time and manner you judge most convenient.

I send you herewith a warrant for Two thousand dollars, towards bearing the expences of your command, which you will hereafter bring into a general account. I am &ca.[93]

[93] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The words in brackets were inserted by Washington.

To THE COMMANDING OFFICERS OF MILITIA IN THE COUNTIES OF LOUDOUN, FAUQUIER, CULPEPER, AND ORANGE[94]

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, November 23, 1778.

Sir: Congress having directed the removal of the Convention troops to Charlotte Ville in the State of Virginia; it will be necessary that proper guards should be furnished from the Militia of the several Counties through which they pass, to escort them through their respective limits. I am therefore to request, that you will, on the requisition of Col. Bland, who is charged with conducting the march of these troops, furnish such a number of militia as guards to them, from the county in which you command, and at such time and place as the Col shall think necessary. I am etc.[95]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Monday, November 23, 1778.

Parole Morocco. Countersigns Moreland, Modon.

At a General Court Martial of the Line, Lieut. Colo. Williams, President, November 20th. 1778: George Albin, Express Rider, was tried for stealing two thousand and fourteen dollars from Captain Dunn,[96] found guilty of stealing twelve hundred and ninety four dollars and sentenced to receive One hundred lashes on his bare back and to remain under confinement until he has refunded what Money is still deficient to Captain Dunn amounting to five hundred and seventy four dollars.

[94] Virginia.

[95] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[96] Capt. Isaac Budd Dunn, of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment. He was major and aide to Major General St. Clair from May, 1781, to the close of the war.

The Commander in Chief approves the sentence and orders it to be put in execution; the stripes to be inflicted tomorrow morning at the Provost Guard in presence of the old and new Guards.

The Court Martial whereof Lieutt. Colo. Williams is President, is dissolved.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg,
November 23[–24], 1778.

Sir: Your Excellency's Letter of the 18th with the inclosure referred to, came to hand yesterday. I had before received the intelligence contained in Mr. Dean's[97] Letter, and in consequence made part of the detachments, which have been mentioned in my late Letters. It is highly probable, that the late incursions and outrages were committed by the parties comprehended in Mr. Deane's intelligence, and I should hope, that the force already gone from the Army together with the season, will prevent them at least from making further great depredations.

Since I had the honor of addressing Your Excellency on the 21st, I received a Letter from Genl Hand of the 18th an extract from which you will find inclosed, with copies of a Letter from Major Whiting and from a Mr. Clyde.[98] These will inform Congress, that tho' the ravages at the Cherry Valley settlement were great in the late attack by the savages, yet our loss was much less than we had reason to apprehend it from our former

[97] James Deane (Dean), agent and interpreter of Indian affairs in the Northern Department. His letter was that of October 10 to Schuyler telling of the gathering of the Indians for war. A copy of this had been sent by General Stark to Washington in his letter of October 16. These are in the *Washington Papers*.

[98] The originals of General Hand's, Maj. Daniel Whiting's, and Samuel Clyde's letters are in the *Washington Papers*. Copies are filed, with the letter of Washington, in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

advices. The account of the Enemy's having stormed the Fort and cut off Alden's Regiment happily, turns out premature.

The Inclosure No. 2, which is a Copy of a Letter from Lord Stirling of the 17th.[99] will advise Congress, that the Fleet of transports which had lain at the Hook for some days before, came up the preceding night to the watering place; and also that some of the Ships of War had returned to York dismasted. Your Excellency will also see by the inclosure No. 3, which contains an extract from a Letter from Genl. Sullivan of the 18th Inst,[1] the latest advices I have respecting Admiral Biron's fleet. From the loss of the Sommerset and these several accounts they suffered severely in their cruise.

Novr. 24th.

I just received from Genl Hand,[2] the inclosed petition from Major Whetcomb addressed to Congress and his Letter to General Hand of the same date. My information respecting the Corps under Major Whetcomb's command has hitherto been very imperfect, and even now I do not know the terms on which it was engaged. Nor had I till these Letters came to hand, any reason to think, that the troops above had not all been equally paid, having sent up a supply of money for the purpose soon after I came to this Camp, and authorised the Pay Master Genl. a few days ago to forward a further quantity. I shall immediately write to Genl. Clinton, now on his way to Albany, to send a proper Officer to muster the Corps, and also three Companies which he calls provincials, under his direction, said to be engaged to the 1st of next month, after which, both will be paid

[99] The original of this letter is in the *Washington Papers*. A copy is filed, with the letter of Washington, in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

[1] The original of this letter is in the *Washington Papers*. An extract is filed, with the letter of Washington, in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

[2] Hand's letter to Washington, dated November 20, inclosing Maj. Benjamin Whetcomb's petition, is in the *Washington Papers*. Whetcomb's (Whitcomb) petition is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 41, 10, fol. 370. His letter to Hand (November 16) is on folio 377.

on his presenting proper Rolls. With respect to Cloathing, the only application I recollect ever to have had from Major Whetcomb, was answered with such supplies both in quantity and quality, as our stores at the time would admit of. It may perhaps be practicable hereafter to put his Corps on a better footing in this instance. The alarm which Major Whetcomb speaks of, in the beginning of his Letter to Genl. Hand was occasioned, Congress will perceive by a Copy of another Letter from him to Genl Hand, by a descent made by a body of the Enemy in the Country about the south end of Lake Champlain, and who according to his report have done considerable damage.

I directed General Du Portail some time ago to take an accurate view of the works carrying on in the Highlands, for the defence of the North River, and to make an estimate of the Cannon necessary for the purpose. This he did, and as he is now at Philadelphia, I have written to him by this conveyance to present the Estimate of Congress.[3] I am sorry the number wanted is so great and the more so, as I find upon inquiry, that the Salisbury furnace in Connecticut, which used to cast many, is much out of repair and could not possibly be put in order and in a proper state of supplies before May. The providing of Cannon is a matter of infinite importance and I am persuaded Congress will take every means in their power to accomplish it. Besides the pressing and extensive demand for the Works on the North river, we cannot extend our views too soon to the obtaining further large supplies. We must in the course of things have occasion for a great deal of Artillery, and in any enterprise we may undertake against Canada, whether on a large or a small scale, several pieces of various Calibers will be

[3] "The estimate you delivered me sometime since of the Cannon wanted for the works of West Point, having been, by some accident mislaid, I am to request you will deliver a copy of it to the President of Congress, which you will be pleased to do as speedily as possible."—*Washington to General Du Portail,* Nov. 24, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

absolutely essential. Besides arming the Ships and Vessels we shall be obliged to build to gain the navigation of the Lakes, our land operations will require a great number.

A Detachment of Continental troops will conduct those of the Convention, from the North river to the Delaware. The German Battalion is to compose part of the escort, and after the Convention troops cross to Pensylvania, I have directed it, in consequence of the intelligence transmitted of late by Congress respecting the Frontiers, to proceed to Easton with all its baggage, where it is to wait till Genl Hand arrives at the Minisincks, and whence it may be ready to act as circumstances may require.[4] At the same time if these frequent detachments from the Army could be avoided, it were much to be wished. The troops will be by these means in a very dispersed state, and besides loosing perhaps some advantages which might present themselves, if they were more collected, their discipline will be greatly injured, and it will be extremely difficult from a variety of causes to draw them together again, and if it should be practicable, it is highly probable we shall find their number much impaired by desertion and otherwise. I have the Honor etc.[5]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 24, 1778.

Sir: I received yours of the instt.[6] by Mr. Dodge[7] and of the 16th. by Captn. Bailey.[8] Dodge is by far the best acquainted

[4] On November 24 Washington wrote Baron de Kalb that the German battalion should "take their Baggage with them, because I am not yet certain but they may be ordered upon a detached duty. They are to send their Baggage to Easton, and after they have escorted the Convention Troops to Sherrards Ferry upon Delaware they are to repair to Easton and there wait further orders." This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[5] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[6] Date should be November 13. This letter of Gates is in the *Washington Papers.*

[7] John Dodge.

[8] Capt. Frye Bailey (Bayley), of the New Hampshire Rangers.

with the communication between the St. Laurence and Detroit of any person I have met with and should the situation of our affairs admit of an expedition by way of Lake Erie, he will be truly valuable, not only from his acquaintance with the country but from his knowledge of the Languages of the Western Indians. Several circumstances conspire to render an expedition into Canada this Winter impracticable. Had the Enemy so far have [*sic*] reduced their number at New York and Rhode Island as to have admitted of a detachment sufficient for such an enterprize, want of provisions only, in proper time, would have been an insuperable bar. When General Bailey came to make a collection of the Bread and Meat upon the upper part of Connecticut River he found the quantity to fall vastly short of the estimate delivered in at the White Plains. Instead of two Thousand Barrels of Salt Meat and from ten to twenty thousand Bushels of Wheat, he cannot furnish more than 1000 Barrels of the former, part of which was drove up from below, and a very trifling quantity of flour. Our magazines were so exceedingly exhausted by the Rhode Island expedition, the French Fleet and the Convention Troops, that the Commissary General would not engage for the supply of a Body of Men adequate to the purpose before the next Spring. However that we may be prepared to take advantage of any favorable opening which the circumstances of the Enemy may oblige them to give us next year, I have desired Genl. Bailey to go on laying up as much meat and flour as he can in that Quarter. Should the Enemy continue their operations upon the Coast the next campaign and oblige us still to turn our attention that way, those magazines above may be brought down at small expence.

The Posts in the Highlands are very illy furnished with heavy Cannon and I find we can put no dependance upon the only quarter from whence we had any expectation. That was from

Salisbury Furnace. The manager of which informs Colo. Hay that the Furnace is out of repair, and that there is neither ore nor coal, nor any one thing in preparation for a blast this Winter. If the Guns of the Sommerset are saved, her lower Deckers will answer the purpose. I could therefore wish you would endeavour to procure about Twenty of the heaviest, and if they can be obtained that they may be sent forward as soon as the hardness of the roads will admit, or when they are covered with Snow, which will be the easiest mode of carriage.

All appearances of an evacuation of New York this Winter seem to have vanished; they are from every account busy in preparing Quarters. [The Troops of the second embarkation are stoped.]

I have paid Capt. Bailey and his two Officers for the time they were detained in Canada and Colo. Wheelock is gone down to Congress to get Colo. Bedel's Regiment put upon some kind of establishment, which it has never yet been. When that is done there will be no more difficulty in procuring their pay, Cloathing &ca. in the manner the others do. Be pleased to direct for me hereafter at Middle Brook in Jersey. I am &ca.[9] [N.Y.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL

November 24, 1778.

Sir: You will forthwith proceed to the Highlands and take the command there. All the posts on the North River from Poughkepsie, inclusively downwards, will be comprehended within the limits of your command. The troops under you will consist of three Massachusetts brigades, Nixons, Pattersons, and Larned's and the garrison of West Point.

[9] In the writings of Richard Kidder Meade. In the draft, which is in the writing of Tench Tilghman, the sentence in brackets is in the writing of Washington.

I need not observe to you that West Point is to be considered as the first and principal object of your attention. I am persuaded you will neglect nothing conducive to its security, and will have the works directed for its defence prosecuted with all the vigour and expedition in your power. You are fully sensible of their importance and how much their completion will ease and disembarrass our future general operations.

One of the three Brigades may be posted at West Point, another at Fish Kill for the safety of the stores and the convenience of Barracks, and the other at Peeks Kill and the Continental village; but I leave it to your own judgment to adopt or alter this disposition as circumstances shall appear to you to require. I would recommend it to you to have your own Quarters at Peeks Kill, or in the Neighbourhood, for the purpose of obtaining early intelligence of what passes with the enemy; the better to take your measures in consequence.

You will have an inclosed redoubt made on each side the River at Kings ferry, with a guard house in each sufficient to accommodate forty Men with their officers, which you will relieve occasionally, once a week may be best.

You will at your own discretion advance parties towards the White plains &ca. for the protection of the inhabitants. You will discourage a frequency of flags either to, or from the enemy; and only permit them when really necessary; paying however proper regard to the applications of the state when flags are required for particular purposes. You will not suffer any inhabitants to go within the enemys lines, except for the sake of procuring intelligence; but with the permission of the civil power, agreeable to a late resolve of Congress.

It is my wish you should use every possible precaution for having constant and exact information of the situation and movements of the enemy; of which you will be pleased to advise me punctually.

If appearances should indicate a serious movement of the enemy against your post, you will immediately apply to General Putnam for such aid as shall appear to you necessary, who will either succour you with the whole or a part of his force as may be found requisite. You will also give me the speediest notice of it.

You will improve every opportunity the weather affords to exercise the troops, agreeable to the rules and regulations established for that purpose; and will pay the strictest attention to order regularity and discipline in every respect.[10]

To COUNT PULASKI

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, November 24, 1778.

Sir: Your favour of the 15th. by Count Kolkowski, I received a few days since. If I have a right idea of your situation at Rosecrantz it will fulfil the object intended. Cole's Fort appeared a good position for covering a considerable part of the frontier; but any place in the vicinity of it, will answer the purpose as well; and as the circumstances you mention, make that particular spot inconvenient on the score of subsistence, you will either remain where you are or choose for yourself such other position in the neighbourhood as appears to you best adapted to the accommodation of your corps.

The motives which incline you to leave this country, at the present juncture, are laudable. When you have arranged the affairs of your corps, you have my consent to go to Philadelphia as you propose. I assure you Sir, I have a high sense of your merit and services and the principles that influenced the part you have taken in the affairs of this country. The disinterested and unremitted zeal you have manifested in the service gives

[10] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

you a title to the esteem of the citizens of America, and have assured you mine.

I gave Count Kolkowski a letter to Congress[11] in which I communicated your request.

I have ordered Col. Spencer with his regiment, Colo. Armand with his corps and Captn. Schot with a party under his command to join you as speedily as possible; The more effectually to enable you, or the Officer commanding to repel any attempts of the enemy in the quarter where you are.

As you have signified to me your intention to return to Europe immediately, I have ordered Brigadier Genl. Hand to repair to Minisink and take the command. I am, etc.[12]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh,
Tuesday, November 24, 1778.

Parole Nassau. Countersigns Natick, Needham.

The Pennsylvania line and Park of Artillery are to march tomorrow morning nine o'Clock; The Stores and Baggage of the Flying Hospital and General Staff to move with them.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, November 25, 1778.

Dear Sir: I this morning received your favour of the 24th. Instant.

I am well pleased with your Orders to Genl. Poor to proceed immediately to Danbury, and to Colo. Badlam[13] for escorting

[11] See note to letter from Washington to Count Casimir Pulaski, Nov. 10, 1778, *ante*.

[12] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

Only the parole and countersigns are given for November 25, and these are followed by the note: "The Army marching by Brigades into Winter Quarters."

[13] Lieut. Col. Ezra Badlam, of the Second Massachusetts Regiment.

in his room the Rear divisions of the Convention troops to Fish Kill.

There has never been any regulation of Congress, authorising Officers and Soldiers on furlough to draw their Rations in the Country, and it can never be done without endless inconveniences. The proceedings of Congress suppose a different idea, and under that part of the Establishment of the Army which took place the 2d. of July, Officers have subsistence money allowed them in lieu and in exclusion of Rations even when in Camp.

You will find your instructions within,[14] and perceive thereby, that I have prohibited all seizures of property by our parties under the idea of it's belonging to Tories. Under this pretext there have been many enormities committed, disgraceful to our arms and injurious in the extreme.

Your instructions do not mention the manner, in which the three Brigades under your command are to be quartered; but wishing the Army to be as little burthensome as possible to the Inhabitants of the Country, and that the Troops composing it's several divisions may lie compactly together, in order to their greater security, and better discipline and government, It is my desire that they should hut themselves as they did last Winter at Valley forge, where ever they can. This will be done by the divisions which quarter on the West side of Hudsons River, and I persuade myself that you and all the Officers with you will give proper attention to the manner of constructing the Huts. There were several last winter at Valley forge, which by the care of the Officers were not only comfortable but commodious, and in which the Men lived exceedingly well and

[14] These instructions are dated November 27, whereby it seems that they were either not inclosed or else this letter was not sent forward until that date. (See Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam, Nov. 27, 1778, *post.*)

preserved their health. These are considerations very important, and I have only to add, the sooner the Troops can be fixed the better. I am, etc.[15]

To MAJOR GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 25, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am favd. with yours of the 15th. According to my present Ideas and expectations my Quarters for the Winter will be at or near Middle Brook, at which place the Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia troops will be hutted. Should Mrs. St. Clairs ill state of health require your attention, after your Affair before Congress is determined, I shall have no objection to your remaining with her, while the situation of the Army, in respect to General Officers, will possibly admit of it.

The enemy, from appearances seem to have given over all thoughts of evacuating New York this Winter. Reports say that a second embarkation, which had fallen down to the Hook, is returned. This is variously accounted for; but I do not think it at all improbable that the late disaster which has befallen Byrons fleet may have disconcerted their operations. We have heard of the loss and damage of five of his Capital ships. I am etc.[16]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE

Head Quarters, November 25, 1778.

Dear Sir: You will be pleased to detach a Captain, two Subs and Fifty Men who are to lay at Robinsons Mills near Mahopack Pond till the Rear of the Pennsylvania Troops are about passing the North River, then they are to follow and join their

[15] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.
[16] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

respective Corps. The intention of this party is to prevent any of the Convention Troops, under pretence of desertion, from passing that way to New York. The Captain will detach a Subaltern and sixteen Men to Isaac Beddoes about half a Mile from Robinsons Mills, and at the coming in of another Road, for the same purpose. The party of 50 to be furnished with six days provision.

The Virginia Troops will be upon their march from West Point to pass at Kings Ferry also, therefore to avoid crossing their line of march you are not to advance beyond John Jones's on the Road between the Continental Village and Kings Ferry untill their Rear are in your Front. You will then pass the River as soon after them as possible and continue your march to Middlebrook.

I would wish you to take all possible care to prevent the troops from burning fences or from committing any kind of Waste upon the property of the Inhabitants. I am &ca.[17]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JACOB BAYLEY

[November 25, 1778.]

Sir: Your favor of the 5th. Inst. was presented me by your son.[18]

The continuance of the enemy in this quarter, the hazard we should run by detaching from the army, the condition of our supplies in your quarter which [fall infinitely short of what I was led to expect] with some other weighty considerations, make it necessary to suspend the expedition to Canada for this

[17] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[18] Ephraim Bayley, who came to headquarters with Capt. Frye Bayley.

"I paid the money due to himself and his two Officers for the time they were detained in Canada. Colo. Wheelock is gone to Congress to represent the State of your Regiment. . . . As an expedition into Canada is a thing of much uncertainty, at least as to time, I would not have you engage any of the Indians at present."—*Washington to Col. Timothy Bedel,* Nov. 25, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

winter. But as I do not give up the idea of an enterprise at a more convenient season and [under more favourable circumstances] you will still exert yourself in obtaining an exact state of the enemies affairs and strength, particularising their Regiments and corps with the general temper of the Canadians.

The further procuring of Snow shoes with such articles as are only wanted in a winter expedition may be totally discontinued. But you may still assist in promoting, and increasing the magazines of flour in the places formerly marked out, to be ready when it shall be judged proper to reassume the expedition.

It would there is no doubt, be a desirable thing to have a quantity of provisions laid up in Canada, in the manner you propose, but should we encourage the frenchman which you mention, in this way it might serve only to point to our objects, and give the enemy an early alarm. This makes me rather hesitate on the propriety of employing him, even supposing his fidelity certain. He may however be used to answer other intentions, (such as giving information) at least till we are more determined on the expedition.

I am really unwilling to incur and accumulate the debt of the Continent by doing any thing at present towards cloathing the Indians you speak of. They must not however by a total neglect be suffered to get too much out of humor; you may furnish them with provisions, and must endeavour to preserve a good understanding, by civil treatment and without running into unnecessary expence.

It is not in my power at present to make you a remittance of the silver Dollars in your account; but I have drawn on the military chest for 5,000 Dollars which is put into the hands of your Son.

You will be pleased to persevere in clearing the road so long as the weather will admit of such duty.

As to appointing an issuing Commissary in your quarter, it is a matter which rests with the Commissary general. But at present there is no such officer necessary, when he is wanted I would suppose there will be no objection to the gentleman you mention. I am etc.[19]

To COLONEL DANIEL MORGAN

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 25, 1778.

Dear Sir: You are to remain at Pompton[20] untill the Rear Division of the Convention Troops has passed Chester on their Route to Sussex Court House. You are then to march to Middle Brook and receive directions from the Quarter Master General for the position of the Brigade under your command in the line of incampment. The Regiment sent to Hackensack is to remain there till ordered off or releived. I am &ca.

P. S. I have received yours of the 24th. When the Virginia Brigades are all assembled at Middle Brook I will consider of the expediency of granting Furloughs to those who will reinlist.[21]

To COLONEL RICHARD PARKER

Head Quarters, November 25, 1778.

Sir: I received your favor respecting Lieutt. White,[22] and presented the one it contained to his Excellency. I have it in command from him to desire you will have that Gentleman arrested for having killed Lieut. Greene[23] in a Duel, when the charge is

[19] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

[20] Morgan was then commanding Woodford's brigade.

[21] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From the original in the Boston Public Library.

[22] Lieut. Elisha White, of the First Virginia Regiment. After fleeing from camp he had returned to his regiment at West Point.

[23] Lieut. John Green, of the First Virginia Regiment. He had died Apr. 29, 1778.

to be transmitted to the Adjut. Genl; this is a step the rules of the Army and a regard to propriety obliged the Genl. to take. I am etc.[24]

To COLONEL DAVID HENLEY

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 25, 1778.

Dear Sir: You will perceive by the inclosed that there is a quantity of provision below and West of Bedford which will be sold to or taken by the enemy except it is removed before the light troops fall back. You will therefore send out parties, agreeable to Mr. Colts[25] request under good and careful Officers, who will be directed by Mr. Leak of Bedford how and where they are to proceed. They are to take no more from the inhabitants than what they intended for sale, or what they can spare without distressing their families. Nothing is to be taken by way of plunder under any pretence whatever. The Commissary is either to pay or give proper Certificates for whatever he takes. I am &ca.

P. S. You will keep every thing in readiness for the detachments to join their Corps whenever they are ordered which will be in a few days.[26]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL UDNY HAY

Head Quarters, November 25, 1778.

Sir: I have to acknowledge your favor of the 22d. Instant, with its inclosures.

Miss Tyneck[27] may be told how very glad I should be to oblige her with a pass to go immediately into New York, if it

[24] This draft is in the writing of and is signed "R. K. Meade."

[25] Peter Colt, deputy commissary general of purchases, Eastern Department.

[26] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From a photostat of the original in the Library of Congress.

[27] Miss "Kitty" (Catherine?) Ten Eyck, of Half Moon, N. Y.

was not necessary in such cases to observe some general line of conduct.

The line which has been pointed out by Congress, and which I have adopted, is to grant passports to such persons only as have previously obtained permission from the Executive of the State to which they belong. I would therefore wish Miss Tyneck to take the trouble of procuring this from Governor Clinton, (and I make no doubt but he will readily grant it).

But in case of Governor Clinton's absence, and this cannot be procured at present, I have inclosed the Young Lady my passport, that she may not be detained waiting for his return.

I thank you for your endeavours to provide me with some Nuts, and am etc.[28]

To GEORGE MEASAM

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, November 25, 1778.

Sir: I have seen yours of the 16th. to Mr. Tilghman inclosing a return of the Cloathing sent forward to this place and delivered at Hartford. The shoes and Blankets for Poors Brigade will be sent to them at Danbury and those for Pattersons and Learneds to Fishkills at which places they are to be quartered. I do not know what quantity of Cloathing or of what kind remains at Springfield, but I think you had better bring it on to Fishkill, where it will be in a very convenient situation to supply the troops in that neighbourhood, those in Jersey, and those to the Northward. Shirts are exceedingly wanted for a great part of the Jersey, Maryland, Virginia and Carolina troops who have not yet drawn, be pleased therefore to send a parcel forward to Middle Brook in Jersey as quickly as possible, as they will quarter near that place. Six hundred Blankets have lately

[28] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

arrived from France at Boston and are ordered to Springfield, let them come forward with all expedition. There are also upwards of 2000 suits of Uniform which came with the Blankets. If you will make me a Return of what you have at Springfield, I shall then be able to direct with certainty whether the whole shall be brought to Fishkills, but you may without waiting further orders send on all the French Cloathing, Shirts, and Blankets. Pray press Messrs. Otis and Andrews to forward shirts to Fishkill, as they are now more wanted than any other Article.

Let your next be directed for me at Middle Brook at Jersey. I am &ca.[29]

*To WILLIAM FITZHUGH[30]

Fredericksburg in the State of New York,
November 25, 1778.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 24th. Ulto. by Captn. Lewis[31] came safe to hand, but was a good while on its passage, as he came no further than Bristol where he met the shattered remains of Baylors Regiment, to which he belongs.

In addition to the common loss on this occasion, I felt particularly for you and Mrs. Fitzhugh, on Acct. of the captivity of your Son,[32] but, it is the common misfortune of War; and he has youth, health, and Spirits to support him in confinement, and I may add a good deal of company, for associates. I have no doubt of her acquiescence [*sic*].

A proposition has been made by Sir Henry Clinton for a general Exchange of Prisoners, it is now under consideration of

[29] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[30] Of Maryland.
[31] Capt. George Lewis, of the Third Continental Dragoons.
[32] Lieut. Peregrine Fitzhugh, of the Third Continental Dragoons. He was exchanged in October, 1780; lieutenant colonel and aide to Washington in July, 1781; served to close of the war.

Congress, if acceded to, your Son will soon be released, at any event, if you put your Letter of credit into a proper channel of conveyance, to take the benefit of a flag to the Enemys Lines there is no doubt of its getting to hand in time, as present appearances rather favor the possession, than evacuation of New York.

The Enemy have detached a very respectable body of Troops from New York for (I have no doubt) the West Indies; these Sailed the third Instt., another body of abt. 2500 had Imbarked, but for some cause or other are detained and part relanded.

Byrons Fleet got a good deal shattered in the storms which happened the last of Octr. and 11th. Instt. The Somerset totally lost; and sevl. other Ships of the Line dismasted that we know of; others may have perished. The French Fleet left Boston the 4th. Instt., and if no accident happened to any of their ships the 11th.; may, I think, have struck some great blow in the West Indies (whether I conclude it is gone) by this time; under the circumstances the British Squadron is now in, in port at Rhode Island and New York.

I have only to add my best respects to Mrs. Fitzhugh, and to assure you that I am with great truth and Sincerety, Dr. Sir Yr. etc. [N.Y.H.S.]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, November 26, 1778.

Sir: Mr. John Dodge will have the honor of delivering this Letter to your Excellency. His history is, that he is a native of Connecticut, and about eight years ago, as he informs me, settled in the Country between Detroit and Pitsburg as an Indian trader. That he carried on commerce till January 1776, when, for his attachment to our cause and the measures he had taken to promote it, he became obnoxious to the Enemy, was seized by order of the Governor of Detroit, was thrown into prison and

there continued till the beginning of May last, when he was sent to Quebec. That on the 9th of October he escaped from thence and got into our settlements thro' the aid of a french Cognawaga, who came with him here on friday last.

I find Mr. Dodge an intelligent young man, intimately acquainted with all the tract of Country between Pitsburg and Detroit and with that lying on Lake Erie; also with most of the savage Tribes in those parts, and with their languages. He is likewise well acquainted with the communication from Fort Stanwix to Oswego and Niagara.

I believe Mr. Dodge's history to be true, and from a variety of circumstances, I am persuaded of his firm attachment to us; and I would take the liberty to suggest to Congress, that I think he may be of very important service to us in any enterprise we may undertake in the western Quarter, or against the force on Lake Erie or Lake Ontario. This consideration, with that of his losses and sufferings, which I am inclined to believe have been considerable, seems to make him worthy of notice and attention. His information is good and clear in several points, which I know myself, and in many others, from the manner in which he delivered it, far superior and much more satisfactory than what I have been able to derive from any other person.

As I have observed before, Mr. Dodge appears to me a valuable intelligencer, and if Congress are pleased to honor him with an opportunity, he will give them an account of the state of the Posts at Detroit and Niagara when he left them, and of that at Mishilimackinac; of the Enemys naval force on Lakes Erie and Ontario; and of such other matters in Canada, as he was able to inform himself of, either by his own observation, or the relation of others.

General Gates supplied Mr. Dodge with some money to defray his expences from Boston to this place, and I have advanced

him to day One hundred and fifty dollars more to carry him to Philadelphia. I have the honor etc.

P. S. Mr. Dodge means to call on Colo. Butler of the light Troops, with whom he says he is well acquainted. He also says he is extremely well acquainted with Colo. Wood of Virginia; but he is not in Camp; and he adds that he was in Pitsburg in 1775. when Doctor Walker Mr. Wilson and Lewis Morris Esqr. were there as Commissioners,[33] and engaged at that time, to use his influence to keep the Savages quiet &c.[34]

*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Fredericksburg in New York, November 26, 1778.

Dear Brother: Your Letter of the 2d. of last Month, though long on its passage, came safe to hand. There is a mistery in the proceedings of Congress respecting General Lee's tryal which I am not able to acct. for. The Sentence of the Court Martial has been hung up in that body since about the 20th. of August, when it should have been approved, or disapproved, without more loss of time than was necessary to have formed a right judgment of the proceedings. This delay is a manifest injustice either to the Generl. himself, or the public; for if he is guilty of the charges, punishment ought to follow; if he is innocent, 'tis cruel to keep him under the harrow. But, there is *something* in every *thing* tho it is not for common comprehensions, to take in *all*: The judgment of the Court ought not to have been known, nor the proceedings (according to Military usage and propriety) promulgated, till the sentence should be approved, or disapproved; and yet, the evidence on one side, with the defence, are industriously circulated; and even published in the Enemy's Papers.

[33] Dr. Thomas Walker, James Wilson, and Lewis Morris were Commissioners of Indian Affairs for the Middle Department in 1775.

[34] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. The letter was read in Congress on December 2 and referred to the Board of War.

the design of this, and the tendency it must have to influence a decision, in the uninformed Mind, is tolerably apparent. I do not mean to insinuate (because I do not believe) that these are the views of Congress. I am sure they are not, but there are Moles among Men as well as beasts, and there ways are as impervious to the view. The Sentence (harsh or favourable) is what you have heard. I may now mention it to you, as it is known to every body; and as I have observed before, publish'd with part of the Proceedings in a New York Gazette.

I had expectations, but not very sanguine ones, that the Enemy were about to evacuate New York and bid adieu to the United States. Appearances have changed, and they now seem busied in preparing for the Winter. What there real designs are, I know not, like others, in distress, they are indecisive and foolish; waiting, I am perswaded, for the meeting of Parliament, that the Ministry may shelter themselves under their Wings, and the report of the Commissioners; who, if I mistake not, will contribute to the delusion by their representation of our distresses, arising from the depreciation of our Paper currency, and want of public virtue; which, in fact, is not a little alarming; and to which, if it were possible, it is high time remedies were applied; for unless something can be done, and speedily, to give credit to the former, and that will act as a stimulus to the latter, I think it does not require the gift of prophecy to foretell the consequences. There is such a thirst for gain,and such infamous advantages taken to forestall, and engross those Articles which the Army cannot do without, thereby enhancing the cost of them to the public fifty or a hundred pr. Ct., that it is enough to make one curse their own Species, for possessing so little virtue and patriotism.

The Enemy have made a considerable detachment (about five or 6000 Men) for, as it is supposed, the West Indies. they were

about making another, of betwn. two and 3000, which has actually imbarked and fallen down to Sandy hook, but were remanded, and as it is said, relanded; the cause of this is not easily come at, unless we ascribe it to the disaster which has lately happened, by Storms, to the British Ships under Admirl. Byron; one of which, a 64 Gun Ship, stranded on Cape Cod, and three or four others of equal, or superior Size, dismasted, and other ways injured, that we know of, certainly; besides losses which we may be ignorant of, as the French Fleet put to Sea on the 4th. Instt. and may have caught some of them in the midst of their distress; and taken them to the West Indies whither it is supposed they are gone, and where the presumption is, a capitol stroke may be struck by them; especially if Byron is in such a condition as to disqualify him from following and certain it is, he has not done it yet; and as certain, that they early knew of his Sailing, and supposed destination.

We had advanced thus far on the Rout to Boston, in case the Enemy, induced by a desire of destroying the French Fleet, had been disposed to operate that way; but being convinced that they have given up all thoughts of offensive measures (this Campaign, unless something is attempted in the predatory style) and knowing that they are too strongly posted in New York by means of the natural strength of the place, and their Shipping; I am beginning to throw the Troops into Cantonments for their Winter Quarters, giving up all Idea, this fourth Winter, of seeing my home and Friends as I shall have full employment during the Winter to prepare for the Campaign that follows it. My Quarters for the most Part, will be in the Jerseys near Brunswick, but may be varied as circumstances shall require

I was sorry to learn the indisposition of your family from your Letter of the 2d. Ulto. but hope all is now well and that

I may congratulate you ere this on the New comer. My love to all the family, I am most sincerely and Affectionately Yrs.

PS. The Inclosed will answer Rusts purposes at the same-time that public justice is attended to.

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 26, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have to acknowledge your favs. of the 18th. 19th. and 20th. Instant. I inclose you the Commissions for Colo. Henleys Regt. which be pleased to deliver to Captn. Trescot[35] the commanding Officer. I laid yours of the 20th. before the Commissary General[36] who in Vindication of his department wrote me a Letter of the 25th. and sent me a Copy of Mr. Flints letter to you of the 30th. October and Copy of Mr. Champions letter of the 19th. Novemr. all of which I enclose to you. You will observe that Mr. Wadsworth, to put things in their regular Channel, offers to take whatever Flour Messrs. Clarke and Nightingale may have purchased, off their hands. If this is satisfactory, he would wave the matter of the enquiry mentioned in the former part of his letter, which would involve all parties concerned in a tedious and disagreeable dispute.

I have at this instant your favr. of the 23rd. with its inclosures, so far as respects the Commissary is answered by the above. I hope your surmises of the evacuation of Rhode Island may prove true.

[35] Capt. Lemuel Trescott. Washington wrote (November 26): "I am favd. with yours of the 17th. instant enclosing a Return of the Officers of Colo. Henley's Regt. agreeable to which I have made out their Commissions and forward them to Genl. Sullivan to be delivered to you. Your Commission is filled up as Captain. I do not know the date of the Gentlemans Resignation who was appointed to the Majority of the Regt. but if you will obtain it, I shall, agreeable to my promise of promoting you upon a vacancy, send you a Major's Commission." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*. Trescott's majority accordingly dates from May 20, 1778.

[36] Jeremiah Wadsworth.

Be pleased to address your next to me at Middle Brook New Jersey for which place I am setting out and near which I expect to make my quarters this Winter. I am &ca.[37]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, November 26, 1778.

Sir: When I first ordered troops to the Minisinks, Coles fort on the Delaware was recommended to me, as a proper place for them to be posted at, covering at the same time a part of the Frontier of New York, New Jersey and Pensylvania, agreeable to which, my directions to Count Pulaski were given. But the Count, on his arrival in that quarter, has represented to me the impossibility of taking post at Cole's Fort, that place and its environs having been desolated by the enemy, and being quite destitute of forage. I have since directed him to make such a disposition of his corps, as appeared to him best calculated for its accommodation, so as to be as near as possible to the place originally intended. When you arrive at Minisink you will dispose of these and all the other troops, under your command, on the same principles; attending as much to their convenience and easy subsistence, and to the convenience of the inhabitants as you can consistent with the main object of your command. You will then inform me where the troops are posted. I am etc.[38]

To COUNT PULASKI

Head Quarters, November 26, 1778.

Sir: In the inclosed letter, you will find an answer to yours by Colo. Kolkowski; since writing which I am favoured with yours

[37] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[38] In the writing of Alexander Hamilton. From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J.

of the 22nd. I shall only add to what I have already said on the subject, that you will keep your cavalry as near as you can to the place first pointed out, consistent with a proper supply of forage and subsistence without too much distressing the already distressed inhabitants. If this cannot be done where you now are, you will remove them to some other place.

If your cavalry must be sent to any considerable distance, your infantry can still remain, in the vicinity of Coles Fort. General Hand will soon be at the Minisinks, whose knowledge of the Country will be useful in making a proper disposition of the troops. The inclosed letter to him is to be delivered on his arrival. I am etc.[39]

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING SHELDON'S DRAGOONS

Head Quarters, November 26, 1778.

Sir: You will forthwith proceed to Durham, between New Haven and Hartford in the State of Connecticut, with your Regiment of Cavalry, where you are to fix your quarters for the winter.

In quartering the Regiment at Durham you will preserve as much compactness as the nature of the place will admit, that by having them all under your own eye, you may be able to keep up good discipline, and prevent dissipation and irregularity.

It is not designed that the Regiment should do ordinary duty, or be called out upon every common occasion. But in case of invasion, or the advance of the enemy, you are to obey the orders of General Putnam, and assist in giving them every opposition.

The horse are not to be made use of as hacks. The men should be strictly forbid riding them as such, and when discovered in the practice, punished severely. Nor are they to be

[39] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

ordered by the officers on messages, or in the execution of any private purpose.

You will direct the utmost attention to the horse, that they may come into the field in the best possible condition for service.

Such of the arms and accoutrements of the Dragoons as are out of order are to be repaired, and every thing completed by next campaign.

You will regulate the furlowing of the officers of the Regiment by the rule established in the general order of the 2nd. Inst.

No officer is to make use of the public horses and those who now use them are to discontinue the practice, unless there is a resolve of Congress in being, or till one can be obtained for this purpose.

A field officer is to be allowed forage for four horses only including his servants. A captain forage for 3 horses including his servants, and a subaltern forage for two horses including his servants.[40]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters at Fredericksburg, November 27, 1778.

Sir: You are appointed to the command of the Brigades of Poor, Parsons and Huntington which are to be quartered this Winter at Danbury.

You will keep a succession of small parties down towards the enemy's lines, mostly towards the Sound as Genl. Mcdougall will guard the North River to watch their motions, prevent small parties from penetrating too great a distance into the Country, and to gain any intelligence which may be collected: But the Officers are to be charged in the most express manner,

[40] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

not to meddle with or bring off any Cattle, or Horses, [unless they should be found driving into the Enemys lines; or in eminent danger of being taken by them; in either of which cases they may be brought off but are not to be considered as the private property of the Party; but delivered to the Commissary and Quarter Master for the use of the Public] who are to pay the owners when brought off to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, nor are they to take any other kind of property from any persons under pretence of its belonging to Tories.

You are not on any account to suffer persons, Inhabitants of the United States to go within the enemy's lines without they produce a written licence from the Governor or Civil Authority of the State to which they belong [agreeably to a mode pointed out by Congress.]

As many inconveniencies arise from Flags of Truce being sent from a variety of Quarters, you are desired, if applications are made to you on that subject, to refer them to [me unless such application is made by the Governor, or the Executive power of the State in which you are, in that case the request is to be complied with in the first Instance.]

No small parties are by any means to be permitted to go upon Long Island. The most shameful abuses have been committed [and injurious consequences arisen] from such parties, who make no discrimination between the inhabitants, many of whom, altho' obliged to remain there, are well affected to our Cause. Should there be any necessity of sending particular Officers over for intelligence, [you must make choice of such as you can be responsable for, that the end may be answered.] Nevertheless should the enemy, by advancing a party upon the Island to any considerable distance from the main Body, put themselves in such a situation as to afford a prospect of making

a stroke at them with success, I would not mean by the foregoing to prevent such an enterprise from taking place. Even in that case, the Officer commanding should be charged to attend to his military object solely, and not, by suffering his Men to run up and down after plunder, lose any advantage which he might have gained.

If the Enemy make a demonstration of acting upon the North River [and] you [shd.] receive information [thereof] from General Mcdougall; [A Brigade] of the troops at Danbury are to proceed immediately towards the posts in the Highlands [and another held in readiness to follow, or act otherwise as circumstances may require.] They may probably at the same time make a move as if towards Danbury: but it will in my opinion be only to create a diversion in favor of their real design upon the Highlands, the loss of which would be of the utmost consequence [to the United States] while Danbury is no [more an] object [than Bedford or any other little Village.]

As the good order and discipline of the Troops during the Winter will depend upon a proper number of Officers being constantly in Quarters with the Men, you will, in granting Furloughs endeavour to observe the following Regulations as near as possible.

No Regiment to be without two Field Officers at one time but in extraordinary Cases.

No Company to be without two Commissioned Officers at a time but in like Cases.

No Regiment to have more than twenty Men upon Furlough at a time, that Number to be proportioned among the Companies.

When the Weather will permit, you are to see that the Brigade Inspectors attend to the Manœuvre and discipline of their respective Brigades upon the plan introduced the last Campaign.

You are to take every measure to prevent and severely punish marauding or any insult to the persons or destruction of the property of the inhabitants by the Soldiery. Particular attention is to be paid to keeping a stock of Fire Wood which will take off every pretence for consuming Fences or out Houses. As soon as the Brigades have fixed upon their Ground for hutting and have drawn the timber necessary for building, the Quarter Master is to be directed to send away as many draught and other Horses as can possibly be spared. They are to be sent to such places as are out of the communication between the North River and Boston, that they may not consume the forage necessary for the teams transporting provision and Stores.

Monthly Returns are to be made regularly to the Adjutant Genl.[41]

To LORD STIRLING

Head Quarters, Fredericksburgh, November 27, 1778.

My Lord: I am indebted to your Lordships several favors of the 17th. 19th. 20th. and 21st. Inst.

The inclosed to Mr. Beatty Commissary of prisoners you will be pleased to transmit by a special messenger. In case of his being within the enemy's lines you will send it by flag. It is to direct his attendance at Amboy, where commissioners on the part of Sir Henry Clinton are to meet Commissioners on our part on the 7th. of December, to treat upon an exchange of prisoners.

I have nothing of a particular nature for your Lordships attention. I expect to leave this place to morrow for my quarters in the Jersey, and shall take Elizabeth Town in my route. I am, etc.[42]

[41] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The portions in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

[42] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

To JOHN BEATTY[43]

Head Quarters, November 27, 1778.

Sir: You will be pleased to give your attendance at Amboy on the 7th. December ensuing, where Commissioners on our part, are to meet Commissioners on the part of Sir Henry Clinton, for the settlement of an exchange of prisoners. You will receive your instructions from Colonels Harrison and Hamilton the Gentlemen I have appointed on our part. I make no doubt but you will be prepared with such papers as may be necessary in the course of this commission. I am, etc.[44]

*To GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

Fredericksburg, November 27, 1778.

Dear Sir: I thank much for your favor of the 11th. which I received by the last Post. You know when a House is on the move and packing up, all the family are commonly busy, and all is hurry; so it is when an Army is changing it's ground for new Quarters. This circumstance must plead my excuse for not going fully into your Letter. You are certainly right in your position that we must act according to our powers; however they may place us, in a situation different from what we wish. In pursuance of this, I have made a disposition of our Army for the Winter more adapted to our circumstances in point of supplies, than if the Troops had remained in a collected State; and tho it is not so sparse and divided as the plan of Cantonment mentioned in your Letter,[45] yet it has regard to the objects you

[43] Commissary General of Prisoners of the Continental Army.

[44] Richard Kidder Meade, who drafted the letter, addressed it to "Col." John Beatty, but the "Col." was afterwards stricken out.

[45] Morris had been appointed on the committee of Congress to superintend the commissary and quartermaster departments and in this capacity he had suggested to Washington (November 11) the cantoning of the army "along thro the Towns about

had in view; and I am well pleased, that in the general it coincides with your Sentiments. A more extended Cantonment to the Southward would have facilitated the means of support; but many inconveniences attend too great a dispersion of Troops. I refer you to my Letter of today to Congress for their general and particular disposition. I must be done after expressing my obligations for your care of myself, and after assuring you that I am etc.[46]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 27, 1778.

Dear Sir: In a letter from General Hand of the 20th. instant, he transmitted a memorial from Major Whitcomb (who commands a Corps of Rangers) to Congress, in which he complains of want of regular pay for his own Corps and three companies of provincials under his command, who were engaged till December. The principal bar to obtaining his pay seems to have been the want of being properly mustered. Genl. Hand in his letter says he had desired a Deputy Muster Master to go up to these Corps. If therefore their pay Rolls are produced to the pay Master at Albany made out agreeable to the musters be pleased to direct him to discharge them, and to continue so to do in future upon application made in proper form.

I shall set out for Middle Brook in Jersey to morrow, at which place I shall expect to hear from you when any thing material occurs. I am &ca.

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the Middle of Connecticut River." The Highlands should be protected and a post maintained at Fredericksburg; the sick Morris would have quartered at Albany and advance parties at Acquackanonck, Newark, and Elizabethtown, with a strong force at Morristown; small bodies at Sussex Court House, Easton, Coryells, Brunswick, and Princeton. Amboy Morris thought too dangerous for a post, but part of the army "might be quartered at Trenton, Bordentown and Burlington and a part at Valley Forge." Morris's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[46] From a photostat furnished by J. Stuart Groves, of Wilmington, Del.

P. S. If Genl. Hand should not have left Albany be pleased to inform him that the German Battalion is ordered to Easton to be ready to march to the Frontier should circumstances require it.[47]

To COLONEL DAVID HENLEY

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 27, 1778.

Sir: The Army is ordered to Winter Cantonments at the following places Viz:

Parsons.....	to Danbury
Huntingtons	
Poors.....	
Pattersons...	Fort Arnold at West Point.
Nixons.....	Continental Village near Peekskill.
Learneds....	Fishkill.
Clarks (No. Carolina)	Smiths Clove and West side of Kings Ferry.
Woodfords.....	Middle Brook in Jersey.
Muhlenbergs.....	
Scotts.....	
Smallwoods.....	
Hall 2d. Maryland.....	
Waynes.....	
Irwin[48] 2d. Pennsylvania	
Dubois.....	Regts. at Albany
Vanschaicks	
Livingstons	
Courtlandt..	at Rochester, between the Minisink and Æsopus.

On Tuesday next unless you receive orders to the contrary, you will direct the officers to march the men which compose your Light Corps to the different Regiments to which they belong by the nearest routes to the above Stations.

[47] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From the photostat kindly furnished by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of New York City.

[48] Brig. Gen. William Irvine.

Inclosed you will find your Commission dated agreeable to the determination of the Committee of arrangement, those for the Officers of your Regiment were forwarded to them a few days past.

I shall set out to morrow morning for Middle Brook in Jersey by the way of Fishkill, Kings ferry and Elizabeth Town. I am, etc.[49]

*To JOSEPH REED

Fredericksburg in the State of N. York,
November 27, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am upon the eve of my departure for Winter Quarters but shall not quit my present roof untill I acknowledge, and thank you for your obliging favor, of the 25th. Ulto.

Unless the Officer who commanded the dispersed Dragoons of Baylors Regiment was directed by Mr. Caldwell to Trenton he was not only guilty of an unpardonable piece of indiscretion, but disobedience of Orders; as he was instructed to collect the scattered remains of that Regiment and repair with them to such place (out of the common rout of the Waggons) as the Quarter Master should direct. I have ordered an enquiry into his conduct on that occasion.

It is most devoutly to be wished that some happy expedient could be hit upon to restore credit to our paper emissions and punish the infamous practice of forestalling and engrossing, such articles as are essentially necessary to the very existence of the army and which by this means come to it through the hands of these people at 50 pr. Ct. advance; to the great injury, and depreciation of our Money, by accumulating, the quantum necessary for ordinary purchases to an amazing Sum, which must end in our total stagnation of all purchases unless some remedy

[49] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

can be soon and effectually applied. It is also most devoutly to be wished that faction was at an end and that those to whom every thing dear and valuable is entrusted would lay aside party views and return to first principles. happy, happy, thrice happy Country if such was the government of it, but alas! we are not to expect that the path is to be strewed wt. flowers. That great and good Being who rules the Universe has disposed matters otherwise and for wise purposes I am perswaded.

As my Letter to Congress of this date has given a full acct. of the cantonmts. of the Troops and other matters of public concernment, I have no need to repeat it to you as an individual Member; the conduct of the Enemy at New York and Rhode Island is too misterious to be accounted for by any rule of common sense. The Transports containing their second Imbarkation still remain in the harbour, for what purpose is not easy to conjecture.

I shall hope, when the Army gets a little settled in Winter Quarters that the Comee. of Arrangement will perfect the good Work they began in the Summer and draw order from the Chaos we have been in for a long time past. It is eleven Oclock at Night and I am to set out early in the Morning, for which reason I shall only add my thanks for the favourable Sentiments you are pleased to entertain for, and have expressed of me but in a more especial manner for your good wishes and prayers. With sincere esteem and affection, and with Compts. to Mrs. Reed, I am etc.

To SIR HENRY CLINTON

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 27, 1778.

Sir: I do myself the Honor of transmitting to Your Excellency, the inclosed Copy of an Act of Congress of the 19th. Instant, in answer to the proposition made in your Letter of the 10th.

In order to negotiate an Exchange on the principles therein mentioned, Lieutenant Colonels Harrison and Hamilton, of the Army under my command, will meet Colonels O'Hara[50] and Hyde[51] at Amboy, on Monday the seventh of December at 11 OClock, with proper powers.

I would propose as the means of expediting business that our respective Commissaries of prisoners should attend at the same time and place, to carry into execution what shall be determined by the Commissioners. I have the Honor etc.

P. S. If Your Excellency should chuse to return me an Answer, Your Letter will have the most ready conveyance by way of Elizabeth Town.[52]

To THE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL[53]

Head Quarters, November 27, 1778.

Sir: I was honored with your letter of the 21st. Inst. to day.

It would have given me great pleasure, had the evacuation of New York, and the condition of our affairs coincided with the wishes of the Council to have a detachment of the army at Boston. But the Enemy still remain in New York, and their late conduct seems to evidence a determination to continue in that place, at least during the winter.

Before receiving your favor the cantonments of the troops had been determined on and the army in actual motion towards its different posts on both sides of the Hudson.

The Council will readily perceive that the present state of things in this quarter, would not authorise a seperation very far

[50] Col. Charles O'Hara, of the Second Foot Guards, British Army.
[51] Col. West Hyde, of the First Foot Guards, British Army.
[52] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[53] Jeremiah Powell.

eastward, of any considerable part of this army. It would be a matter of the utmost difficulty and embarrasment, if not totally impracticable to supply any body of men with provisions at this season at Boston; besides the immense accumulation of public debt, which must arise from a land transportation was the measure in other respects advisable or consistent with our views and circumstances. I have the honor etc.[54]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 27, 1778.

Sir: I was yesterday honored with your favor of the 20th with its several inclosures. Congress will be pleased to accept my acknowledgements for the communication of the treaties between his Most Christian Majesty and the United States. The Resolve respecting the exchange of Prisoners has been transmitted to Sir Harry Clinton, and I have appointed Commissioners if he thinks proper to meet his at Amboy the 7th of next Month.

I have the pleasure to inform Congress that the whole Army, one Brigade and the light Corps excepted is now in motion to the places of the respective cantonments for Winter Quarters. I have thought it prudent to delay this event, a while, to give time for the Convention Troops to make some progress in crossing the North river, to prevent a possibility of accident. The third division passes this day and if no unexpected interruption happens, the whole will be over the 30th instant. When their passage is completed, the remaining Troops kept in the field will immediately retire to quarters.

The disposition of Winter quarters is as follows: Nine Brigades will be stationed on the West side of Hudson's River, exclusive of the Garrison of West point, one of which, the North

[54] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

Carolina Brigade will be near Smiths Clove for the security of that pass, and as a reinforcement to West Point, in case of necessity; another, the Jersey Brigade will be at Elizabeth Town to cover the lower part of Jersey, and the other seven, consisting of the Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania Troops will be at middle Brook. Six Brigades will be left on the East side of the River, and at West Point, three of which, of the Massachusetts Troops, will be stationed for the immediate defence of the Highlands, one at West Point in addition to the Garrison already there, and the other two at Fishkill and the Continental Village, the remaining three Brigades, composed of the New Hampshire and Connecticut Troops and Hazens Regiment, will be Posted in the vicinity of Danbury, for the protection of the Country lying along the Sound, to cover our Magazines lying on Connecticut River and to aid the Highlands, on any serious movement of the Enemy that way. The Park of Artillery will be at Pluckemin. The Cavalry will be disposed of thus, Blands Regiment at Winchester in Virginia; Baylors at Frederick or Hagar's Town in Maryland. Moylans at Lancaster in Pennsylvania and Sheldons at Derham in Connecticut. Lee's Corps will be with that part of the Army which is in the Jerseys, acting on the advanced posts.

This comprehends the general distribution of the Army, except Clinton's Brigade of New York Troops Pulaski's Corps and some detached regiments and Corps, stationed at Albany and at different parts of the frontier, of which Congress have been already particularly advised. Genl. Putnam will command at Danbury, Genl. McDougal at the Highlands, and my own quarters will be in the Jerseys, in the neighbourhood of Middle Brook.

This disposition appeared to me best calculated to conciliate, as far as possible, these several objects: the protection of the country, the security of the important posts in the Highlands,

the safety, discipline and easy subsistence of the army. To have kept the Troops in a collected state would have increased infinitely the expence and difficulty of subsisting them, both with respect to forage and provisions. To have divided them into smaller cantonments, would have made it far less practicable to maintain order and discipline among them, and would have put them less in a condition to controul and prevent offensive operations on the side of the Enemy, or to assemble to take advantage of any favourable opening, which their future situation may offer, should they be obliged to weaken themselves by further detachments, so far as to invite an enterprise against them.

By the estimate of the Quarter Master and Commissary General it appeared indispensible to have the principal part of the Army on the other side of the North River. It was thought impracticable to furnish the necessary supplies of flour for the whole on this side the river, from the immense difficulty and expence of transportation in the Winter season, and from the exhausted state of the Country, with respect to forage. As this subject has been already fully before Congress, I shall not trouble them with a repetition of the detail.

In order as much as possible to reduce the demand of forage and facilitate the supplies, I have given directions when the several divisions arrive at their cantonments, to send away to convenient places at a distance from them, all the horses not absolutely requisite to carry on the ordinary business of the army.

It is unnecessary to add, that the Troops must again have recourse to the expedient of hutting, as they did last Year, but as they are now well clad, and we have had more leisure to make some little preparations, for Winter quarters, I hope they will be in a more comfortable situation than they were in the preceeding Winter. With the highest respect, etc.[55]

[55] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

To THE BOARD OF WAR

[Head Quarters, November 27, 1778.]

Sir: I have received your favor of the 20th Inst. Colo. Clark's[56] procuring of Cloathing for the N. Carolina troops he commands, on Continental account was a measure taken long before it was known, that we should have it in our power to supply the whole Army with that imported from france.

The whole army has been directed, by a general order of the 8th Inst, that all coats, Jackets and breeches, which have been received, either thro' the hands of the clothier or agents or thro' the states on Continental Acct. and which may have been delivered in the course of the fall, or that may remain undelivered, must be returned to the Clothier or agents of the department in case new ones are drawn.[57]

Whatever therefore Colonel Clark has procured, will be necessarily stored with the Clothier General, as he is completely provided in french clothing.

The old cloathing of the army is not of great consideration however the most pointed attention of the officers is recommended to prevent its misapplication to have their several articles of dress frequently examined and to make the old as useful as possible in saving of the new. I am, etc.[58]

[56] Col. Thomas Clark, of the First North Carolina Regiment. He was wounded at Stono Ferry, S. C., in June, 1779; taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1780; retired in January, 1783.

[57] "I have yours of the 18th. inclosing a Return of Continental Cloathing remaining in Your Hands. I desire the whole may be sent as expeditiously as possible to this place [Fishkill] and delivered to Mr Measam or to his Deputy in his Absence. When you make the Return lately called for by the Board of War of the Quantity of Goods purchased by you, and have disposed of; you are to specify particularly what was delivered to Officers, at what price, and by whose order. You are not to suffer the Strouds to be cut up into Blankets as they will probably be wanted for other purposes."—*Washington to Maj. John Bigelow* (assistant clothier at Hartford), Nov. 29, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[58] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE

Head Quarters, Fredericksburg, November 28, 1778.

Dear Sir: I recd. yours of Yesterday late last Evening. Genl. Muhlenberg had directions not to move from his Ground untill the 2d. division of the Convention Troops had passed the North River. This I imagine was effected on the 26th. and that the Virginia Troops would march Yesterday Morning: If so, they will have passed you before this reaches you. If they should not, be pleased to send to Genl. Muhlenberg and know the reason of his delay. If you find him in such a situation that you can reach the Ferry before him, you may move down, pass over and continue your march to Middle Brook. You did well to see to the order of the Boats. I am, etc.[59] [H.S.P.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES HAMILTON[60]

Head Quarters, November 29, 1778.

Sir: I was last night honored with your polite Letter of the 25th. Instant, and am much obliged by the favourable sentiments you are pleased to entertain of me.

I feel for the situation of Capt. Fetherstone,[61] in whose favor you interest yourself, but yet it is not in my power to comply with your request in his behalf. I should hope he may secure his claim by writing to Sir Henry Clinton and his friends upon the subject and if it should be thought that this expedient would answer any good purpose and the Captain will write, His Letters shall be transmitted by an early flag. In consequence of a proposition from His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton and Others on the part of the Honorable the Congress, it is probable there

[59] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[60] Of the British Army.
[61] Capt. William Featherstone, of the Twenty-first Foot, British Army.

will be a meeting of Commissioners from the two Armies, in the course of a few days, to confer upon Matters respecting the exchange of the Convention Officers and those of our Army, prisoners with him. I cannot tell what the result may be; but I shall be happy if it produces relief to the parties who are the Objects of the meeting. I have the Honor, etc.[62]

To MAJOR BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

Head Quarters, Fish Kill, November 29, 1778.

Sir: I am favoured with your letter of this date, inclosing one from C——.[63] His account has the appearance of a very distinct and good one and makes me desirous of a continuance of his correspondence. At the same time, I am at a loss how it can be conveniently carried on as he is so scrupulous respecting the channel of conveyance. It will be indispensible for you to be with your regiment, and it would be too circuitous and dilatory, to have his communications pass through you at the station to which you are going. I wish you could fix upon some Officer at Danbury, in whose discretion, your correspondent would be willing to confide, or the matter might possibly be so managed that his letters might pass through that officer to me, without his knowing the person from whom they came. But any way, you can fall upon, in which the purpose of procuring his intelligence with expedition can be answered will be agreeable to me.

If you think you can really depend on C—s fidelity, I should be glad to have an interview with him myself; in which I could put the mode of corresponding upon such a footing that even if his letters were to fall into the enemys hands, he would have nothing to fear, on that account.

[62] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[63] Samuel Culper.

I am sorry, I cannot send you the money you request per bearer; All the Specie in my possession is with my baggage from which I shall be for some days separated. But if I am not mistaken, there is a sum about equal to what is now wanted in the hands of Colo. Henley, whom I have directed, in the letter accompanying this,[64] to pay what he may have, to you. You will apply to him accordingly.

Specie is so scarce an article and so difficult to be procured, that we must use great œconomy with it. If Continental money can be made to answer the purpose in part, it will be a very desirable circumstance, as it will facilitate the necessary supplies. I am, etc.[65]

To COLONEL THEODORICK BLAND

[Fishkill] November 29, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have written to Lord Stirling to day[66] to order a Subaltern with 16 Dragoons of Moylan's Regiment to proceed to Sherards ferry and put himself under your command. When you arrive at Fredericktown in Maryland, if you should suppose you will still have occasion for Horse, you will relieve the party from Moylan's, by taking an equal or inferior number from Baylor's, if the state of the Horses will admit, in which case the former are to rejoin their Regiment at Lancaster; but if the State of Baylor's will not admit of the detachment,[67] you

[64] "I do not exactly recollect what sum of hard Money General Scott left in your hands, but whatever you may now have be pleased to pay to Major Talmadge, who has occasion for it for a special purpose, and let me know the Amount."—*Washington to Henley,* Nov. 29, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[65] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

[66] "Colo. Bland is in want of a party of Light Horse to assist him in the Escort of the Convention Troops, be pleased therefore to order a Subaltern and 16 from Moylans Regt. . . . Let the party take their necessaries with them as they will rejoin their Regiment in their Winter Quarters."—*Washington to Lord Stirling,* Nov. 29, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[67] "Should Colonel Bland call upon you for a party of Horse from Colonel Baylors Regt. you are to furnish him with it."—*Washington to the Commanding Officer of Baylor's Dragoons,* Nov. 29, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

must retain the party from Moylan's as long as you judge it necessary, after which you will order the Officer to return with it by the best and shortest route to join his Corps. I am etc.[68]

[N.Y.P.L.]

To MAJOR HENRY LEE

Fishkill, November 29, 1778.

Dear Sir: I just now received a Letter from His Excellency the Governor of this State, transmitting a general complaint from Major Strang and Mr. Hyat[69] against your Corps, and a particular one against Lieutt. Carnes[70] for an irregular seizure of forage, and against yourself for refusing to suffer the sheriff to arrest him for it, and demanding him to be delivered to the Civil Magistrate, as you will perceive by the Inclosed.

This complaint I confess gives me extreme pain, as there is nothing I wish so much as a perfect good understanding and Harmony between the Inhabitants and every part of the Army. Mr. Carnes must be amenable to the civil authority, and the Sheriff or other Officer must be permitted to execute the process against him without interruption, that the matter may undergo legal inquiry and decision. I am, etc.[71]

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[68] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[69] Maj. Joseph Strang, of the Westchester County (N. Y.) Militia, and Nathaniel Hyatt, jr. Their complaint, dated Nov. 25, 1778, is in the *Washington Papers,* along with Governor Clinton's forwarding letter of November 26.

"I have written to Major Strang and Mr. Hyatt, inclosing a Letter to Major Lee. . . . I have also advised them that the Corps is under marching Orders for Jersey, that they may not defer the arrest, if they think proper to make it."—*Washington to Gov. George Clinton,* Nov. 29, 1778. The draft of this letter is in the *Washington Papers.* The letter sent is in the possession (1934) of Mrs. Emory Clapp, of New Orleans.

Washington's letter to Strang and Hyatt, which is also in the *Washington Papers,* is practically a recital of what he wrote to Governor Clinton: "I have informed Major Lee . . . that Lt. Carnes must be amenable to the civil authority, and that he is not to prevent the Sheriff from executing the process he may have against him."

[70] Lieut. Patrick Carnes, of Lee's Dragoons. He was a captain in Pulaski's Legion in 1780.

[71] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To COLONEL WILLIAM MALCOM

Fish Kill, November 30, 1778.

Sir: I intended in my way to the Jerseys to have called at West Point; but being detained here by the weather, much longer than I expected to stay, I find it necessary to decline my proposed visit to the Garrison. I am to inform you that General McDougall is appointed to take the command in the Highlands. You will therefore receive your future orders from him. I am, etc.

P. S. Your favour of the 27th. with the inclosed return is received.[72]

To LIEUTENANT COLONELS ROBERT HANSON HARRISON AND ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Head Quarters, November 30, 1778.

His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton having by a Letter to me of the 10th Instant, made a proposition to the following effect, viz. "to exchange the Officers of our Army who are prisoners on parole or otherwise in his possession, for the Officers and Men of the Troops of the Convention, according to the customary proportion, or according to such proportion as might be determined, by Commissioners appointed on both sides."

And the Honorable the Congress having authorised me, by an Act passed on the 19. Instant, "to appoint Commissioners to confer with such as are or may be appointed by Sir Henry Clinton, on the exchange proposed by him; and directed that Officers of equal rank be first exchanged, after which, if it should be necessary, an equivalent of inferior for Superior Officers:

[72] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

and if agreably to such equivalent, all the Officers of the Enemy shall be exchanged and a ballance of prisoners remain in their hands, then an equivalent of privates is to be settled according to the customary proportion or such proportion as may be agreed on."

In virtue of these powers, You the said Robert Hanson Harrison and Alexander Hamilton are appointed and I do hereby appoint You Commissioners, to repair to Amboy in the State of New Jersey on Monday the 7 of December, then and there, or at such other place as shall be afterwards mutually agreed on, to confer, agree, and determine with the Commissioners nominated or to be nominated [on the part of Sir Henry C.] and who shall be properly authorised, upon an exchange of prisoners, agreable to the terms of the said recited Act;

for which this shall be your Warrant; and your engagements being mutually interchanged, shall be ratified and confirmed by me.[73]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILLIAM WASHINGTON[74]

November 30, 1778.

Dear Sir: I received your favor last night and have the pleasure of transmitting your Commission which had just come to hand before in a Letter from the President.[75]

Full instructions were made out for Baylors Regiment, but by accident they were put up in the paper Chest with the baggage. They shall follow you as soon as possible. In the mean

[73] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The words in brackets have been crossed out. In a contemporary copy of this document, in the *Papers of the Continental Congress,* under date of Nov. 20, 1778, this phrase is written: "by Sir Henry Clinton."

[74] Of the Third Continental Dragoons.

[75] President of Congress.

time you will put the Regiment in motion and proceed with it as fast as you can to Fredericktown in Maryland where it is to quarter unless it can be better accommodated with Hay and forage at Hagerstown, in which case you will take your Station at the latter.

I wrote Colo. Bland yesterday that I had ordered a Subaltern with 16 Dragoons of Moylans Regt. to join him at Sherard's ferry, to be relieved by a like or an inferior party from Baylor's when he gets to Fredericktown if the state of the Regiment would admit of it, and gave him a line to the Commandg. Officer for the purpose. You will settle this matter with him when he arrives there as circumstances will justify. If you are not brisk he will be there as soon if not before you.

With respect to Cornet Baylor,[76] I am sorry he should have remained in arrest so long, and were he not charged with Gaming, I would release him from it; but as he is, you will direct a Court to sit when you get in Quarters. There will be several of the Officers of Bland's Regiment at Winchester, who can compose it in part. I am, etc.[77]

To COLONEL JOHN LAMB

Fishkill, November 30, 1778.

Sir: Sir James Jay[78] is desirous of making some experiments in Gunnery, in order to which he will require some assistance, which it is my wish you should afford him upon application. I am, etc.[79] [H.L.]

[76] Cornet Walker Baylor, of the Third Continental Dragoons. He was made a captain in February, 1780, and resigned in July, 1780.

[77] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[78] Sir James Jay was the brother of John Jay.

[79] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Elizabeth Town, December 4, 1778.

Sir: Between Fredericksburg and this place, where I arrived yesterday afternoon, I had the Honor to receive Your Excellency's several favors of the 26th. 27th. and 28th. in due order, with their several Inclosures, which shall have my attention. My being on the road from the time of their coming to hand till yesterday, prevented me from acknowledging them before.

As many inconveniences would attend the removing of the Sick Officers and Men of the Convention troops by Land, and the Officers having families, I have written to General Gates to permit them to proceed to the falls of James River by Water, on the Officers giving their paroles that they and the Men will perform the voyage. I have also acquainted him of the meeting in contemplation for an exchange of Prisoners, that the Officers may not leave Boston till the result is known.

With respect to Major de Passem of the Regiment of Hesse Hanau,[80] I hope he may be released by an exchange, after which it will remain with him to obtain liberty from Sir Henry Clinton to return to Europe; but if the exchange in agitation should not take place, I should be happy if Congress themselves would decide whether he is to be allowed his request. If on my permission he should go to Europe, without application to and the consent of the British Commander, which seems to be his intention, the Enemy might not think themselves bound upon a future occasion to account for him. I have the Honor etc.[81]

[80] Hesse Nassau(?)

[81] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Elizabeth Town, December 4, 1778.

Sir: I had the honor of receiving yours of the 24th. ulto. on the Road between Fredericksburg and this place. As soon as the Troops destined for the Middle Brook Cantonment have arrived at that Ground I shall detach one Regiment to Philada. and another to Trenton agreeable to the desire of the Board. I shall set out for Middle Brook in the Morning, at which place I expect to meet two of the Virginia Brigades; the other and a considerable part of the Pennsylvanians and the Marylanders are employed in escorting the Convention Troops from the North River to Delaware and securing the communication between them and the disaffected parts of the States of New York and New Jersey. I am etc.[82]

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Elizabeth Town, December 4, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your last letters of the 30th. Ulto. and the 1st. Inst. which met me on the way to this place.

If Mr. Wallace[83] can spare two rooms below Stairs, it will make our quarters much more comfortable, as well as render them more convenient for public business. You will endeavour therefore to concert measures with Mr. Wallace for this purpose.

I consider with you the line of communication to the Eastward much endangered by leaving Paramus exposed, and shall order the Carolina brigade to that station and its vicinity.

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[82] The draft is the writing of Tench Tilghman and addressed to Richard Peters as secretary of the Board of War.

[83] John Wallace, who lived about 4 miles west of Middlebrook. (See note 21 p. 385.)

The New York paper of the 2nd. speaks of the taking of Colo. Ward[84] and Captn. Bradford[85] as an enterprise of spirit conducted by tories, thro' a great many hazards.[86]

From a late application it is necessary to detach a regiment to Trenton and another to Philada. for the security of the public stores. As I think of breaking in upon Genl. Woodford's brigade, you will in the plan for hutting have respect to this diminution.

I shall endeavour to reach the quarters you have alloted me by that time Major Gibbs may have made his arrangements. I am, etc.[87]

To BARON DE KALB

Elizabeth Town, December 4, 1778.

Sir: I have just received information, that the enemy have sent fifty two sail of vessels up the North River. What may be the design is not easy to determine; but if any thing serious is intended it must be one of three things, to make a stroke upon the forts, to rescue the Convention troops, or to intercept our line of march. To prevent their succeeding in the first, I am to desire, you will immediately move by the shortest route towards West point, advising the commanding officer there of your approach, and divesting yourself both of baggage and artillery, if necessary to facilitate your communication. To prevent the second, you will send the information, I now give you, to Colo. Bland, and urge him in my name to hasten on the Convention troops as fast as possible to the Delaware and to

[84] Col. Joseph Ward, Commissary General of Musters of the Continental Army. He became Commissary General of Prisoners of the Continental Army in April, 1780, and remained such to the close of the war.

[85] Capt. William Bradford, jr., Deputy Commissary General of Musters. Heitman lists him as a lieutenant colonel from April, 1777; he resigned in April, 1779.

[86] Rivington's *Gazette* reported the captures as "one of the Rebel Muster Masters General, named Ward, heretofore a School-Master at Boston, and his Deputy, Captain Bradford, said to be the son of Mr. Cornelius Bradford."

[87] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

redouble his vigilance to suppress any effort on their part. Should the danger of a rescue become eminent, he will take such measures as necessity shall dictate.

Colo. Clarke with his Brigade will remain in the Clove for the security of that pass.[88]

I do not mean however that the directions here given should be so absolute as to preclude your deviation from them if your intelligence should make a compliance unnecessary or improper. In this case you will act according to your own discretion, in which I am persuaded you will act with the greatest circumspection. I am etc.[89]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE

Elizabeth Town, December 4, 1778,
10 OClock P. M.

Dear Sir: I have just recd. intelligence that the Enemy moved up the North River yesterday with 52 sail of Transports, they had proceeded this morning as far up as Closter which is above Fort Lee. What is their intent I do not know. I desire you will halt wherever this may find you, collect all your effective Men, and send your Baggage and Convalescents on towards Middle Brook. If you receive certain information that they have proceeded up towards the Highland Posts, you are to move towards Sufferans at the Mouth of the Clove. I would have you send a Messenger to meet Lt. Colo. Hay with the 500 Men belonging to your division. If they have passed the North River, let them join you as expeditiously as possible. If they should be still upon the other side, let Colo. Hay put himself under the direction of Genl. Mcdougall who may perhaps want assistance. I am &ca.

[88] See Washington's letter to Col. Thomas Clark, December 4–7, under Dec. 7, 1778, *post*.

[89] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton and Tench Tilghman.

P. S. If any of the troops belonging to the light Infantry should be on their way to rejoin their Corps be pleased to detain them with you.[90] [H.S.P.]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL PETER MUHLENBERG

Elizabeth Town, December 4, 1778,
10 OClock P M

Dear Sir: I request that you will halt the Virginia troops wherever this finds you, if the Ground and Wood will admit of it; if it will not, I had rather you would countermarch them to the first convenient situation. You will collect the Troops and hold them in compact order, taking care to have them well supplied with provision and ammunition and ready to move on the earliest order. You will continue all the Heavy baggage on it's march and only retain what will be barely necessary for the Men and which they can carry. I don't mean that the Artillery or ammunition Waggons should be separated from the Brigades. I am etc.

P. S. I have just received authentic intelligence that the Enemy have several Ships moving up the North River with Troops and flat bottomed boats.[91]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Elizabeth Town, December 5, 1778.

Sir: I have the Honor to address you by command of His Excellency, who went from this place at four OClock this

[90] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The draft, which is also in the writing of Tilghman, does not contain the P. S.

[91] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

The same information was sent to Col. Daniel Morgan this same day (December 4), with orders to hold his troops ready "to act on the earliest order." Also, Washington wrote to Col. Thomas Clark practically the same letter as he wrote to Muhlenberg.

morning in consequence of advice received last night, that fifty two Vessels great and small, including a Bomb Ketch, with troops on board, had the day before yesterday moved up the North river as far as Cloyster landing, and yesterday morning got under way and were proceeding further up. He proposed to make his first stage at Acquakanunch and to proceed as his future intelligence might require. He is much at a loss to determine the design of the enemy; but then as it may either have respect to the Forts in the Highlands or to the Convention troops. When he left Peeks Kill, the two Massachusetts brigades, on their march thither from Hartford were not arrived, so that the troops on the spot were only the original garrison of West point and Nixon's brigade, which lay near the Continental village; but without the most inexplicable delay, those must have reached their destination some days since. If so, and the Enemy should mediate a stroke against West point, they will probably fail in it, unless there should be something like a surprize. The General also thinks it probable, that the Maryland division was yesterday evening at the Clove; Their instructions were to communicate with West point and reinforce it on an emergency. They were, in addition to them, directed, last night, by express to move immediately towards the forts, divested of baggage and Artillery for the more speedy communication. The Carolina Brigade has been some time stationed at the Entrance of the Clove.

One brigade of the Virginia Troops is at Pumpton, and the other two were expected to reach Springfield yesterday. The Pensylvania troops it is supposed would be at Acquackinunch or in the neighbourhood of Paramus. These troops, immediately on receiving the present intelligence were ordered to halt and his Excellency is gone forward to regulate

their movements, according to circumstances. The Brigade in this Town is ordered to hold itself in readiness.

If the Convention troops should be their object, it is probable the attempt will be too late to answer any purpose. The rear division was to cross the North river on Wednesday last; but must certainly have done it on thursday; the front must be not far from the Delaware and the whole too far advanced to be subject to a rescue. Added to this, there is a pretty strong guard with each division. His Excellency, however has sent on the intelligence to Colo Bland, who directs their march, urging him to hasten them forward, with all possible dispatch.

One Brigade of Connecticut troops was at Danbury, the Other at Fredericksburg when we came away, and Genl. Poor's was in full march for the former and must long since have arrived.

I have the Honor to be, etc.

P. S. You Excy. will excuse this hurried scrawl.[92]

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Elizabeth Town, December 5, 1778.

Dear Sir: His Excellency was informed last night by a Letter from Colo. Febiger to Lord Stirling that 52 Vessels yesterday morning were proceeding up the North River with flat bottomed boats and supposed to have troops and were as high up then as Closter landing. We cannot tell what their object is, but the intelligence occasioned the General to send orders for halting all our Troops on the march, and himself and Lord Stirling to set out between four and five OClock this morning towards Acquaquinunck bridge, from whence

[92] This draft is in the writing of and is signed by Robert Hanson Harrison.

they will proceed farther or return as circumstances point out. The Enemy certainly must have some Object, more than to divert us from Quarters, and I should suppose it One of three, to intercept our march, or to attempt a rescue of the Convention troops, or to attack the Highlands posts. For the first and Second, they must be too late and for the last I hope they are too weak. If Patterson and Learneds brigades are arrived at their ground and they must be, unless they have used the most cruel and wanton delay, the force in the highlands must be sufficient to resist their whole Army, especially when we take into consideration the aid which may be derived from the troops at Danbury. At any rate we are sure Nixons brigade was in the pass in the mountains, on the other side, the Carolina at the clove and several men in the fort, which, tho possibly they might not be equal to repel the Enemy, if in full force, would, very probably be sufficient to maintain their Ground till succoured.

This movement of the Enemy as I observed before, hurried His Excellency away this morning when he desired me to acknowledge his receipt of your favor of yesterday,[93] and said he could not determine which of the positions you mention best, without seeing them. Nor did he decide positively that I recollect as to his own Quarters, but I believe Mr. Wallace's is the place for such has been the *run* of of conversation and *family expectation*. You are very well acquainted with the General's ideas as to a proper situation for the troops I should suppose, and I would fain hope, the part you take will coincide with his sentiments. He designed to set out to day towards the intended incampment, which would have obviated every difficulty, but Sir Harry thought to interpose his manuvres. I dare say he will arrive as soon as or before the Troops, which may

[93] Greene's letter of Dec. 4, 1778, is not found in the *Washington Papers*.

prevent some of the inconveniences you forbode. I must request you to excuse this hurried scrawl, for in truth, Hamilton and Myself are immersed in thought and difficulties about our meeting Colos. OHara and Hyde at Amboy on Monday not so much on account of the business, as because Amboy is destitute of Meat, bread and all the &ca. that you can imagine, but we are trying to put things in train. I am etc.[94]

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Elizabeth Town, December 6, 1778,
9 OClock P M.

Dear Sir: I wrote you yesterday from this place in answer to your Letter to His Excellency on the subject of quartering the Troops. This minute Colo. Hamilton received a Letter from Doctr. McHenry dated to day at Paramus, with the following paragraph "desire Colo. Harrison to write to Genl. Greene on the subject of his Letter respecting a change of ground for hutting. He may tell Genl. Greene, that the situation marked out in the first instance seems to His Excellency the most eligible; but that Genl. Greene must be a more competent judge, to which place the preference should be given."

With respect to the movements of the Enemy the said McHenry writes thus. "We are informed by a Major of Militia that the Enemy's Vessels are near King's ferry, and it is said that a body of about 2,000 men are as high up as Tarrytown. Their Object would appear forage and provision to be collected between Kingsbridge and the posts at the Highlands." Genl Wayne is ordered to Sufferans; Genl. Muhlenberg to the same place; we shall move that way immediately."

Ham and I (this is against the rules of grammar, but it is consistent with those of modesty and the merits of the man,

[94] This draft is in the writing of and is signed by Robert Hanson Harrison.

therefore I'll let it stand) shall set out to morrow morning for Amboy by sun rise. I have nothing more to add, except to tell you, what I hope you already believe, that I am with very sincere respect and regard, etc.[95]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL PETER MUHLENBERG

Paramus, December 6, 1778.

Dear Sir: You will be pleased upon receipt of this letter, immediately to put the troops under your command in motion with their field artillery and ammunition for Sufferance at the mouth of Smiths Clove, and there wait further orders.

You will divest yourself of your baggage, which is to be ordered on to the place appointed for winter quarters. You may bring a few tents in some of the Strongest waggons to serve in case of very bad weather for the security of the arms but you are not to encumber yourself with many, but to travel as light in every respect as possible.

I imagine you will find the route by the great falls to be the best, however you will make the necessary inquiry of those who know the Country. I am etc.

P. S. March only such men as are fit for service, let the invalids proceed with the baggage; you will also dispatch an express to Middle brook, for the Commissary Genl. and forage master Genl. to come on to Sufferance.[96]

To COLONEL THOMAS CLARK

Paramus, December 6, 1778.

Sir: I have received intelligence that the Enemys shipping had got as high up as King's ferry and that they had landed

[95] This draft is in the writing of and is signed by Robert Hanson Harrison.
[96] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

some Men on this side near Haverstraw. Be pleased therefore to move the Brigade, without their Baggage, to a good piece of Ground seven or Eight Miles towards the ferry. You had better march upon the Road nearest the mountain and not upon that through Kakiate. If the Enemy should have landed any men, you will send out scouts to reconnoitre them and if foraging seems their object, endeavour to keep them from penetrating the Country. If they keep in a Body and seem preparing for a design against the posts, keep your Men together also, prepared to act as Circumstances may require. I am &ca.[97]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ANTHONY WALTON WHITE

Paramus, December 6, 1778.

Sir: I have just recd. intelligence that the enemy have gone down the River again. You may therefore proceed with the Regiment to the place of destination for the Winter. I am etc.[98]

To MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL

Paramus, December 7, 1778.

Dear Sir: I received yours dated the 5th. at West Point early this morning. I was yesterday on my way towards the River when I met Major Platt's[99] letter from Haverstraw informing me that the enemy had fallen down the River again, and of the dispositions which had been made for their reception. By this letter I was releived from my principal anxiety which was, that perhaps Pattersons and Learneds Brigades might not have arrived. I cannot account for this odd maneuvre of

[97] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[98] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. From the original in the possession of Philippe von Hemert, of New York City.

[99] Aide to McDougall. He served as such to close of the war. His letter is not found in the *Washington Papers.*

Sr. Henry Clinton in any other way, than by supposing that he was misinformed as to the quantity of Stores at the ferry, or that it was a demonstration above, to forage with more security below. My latest accounts from New York inform me that thirty thousand tons of shipping have been lately taken up for Government service and that a general Embargo is laid. The occasion has not yet transpired.

The Board of War have called for a Regiment [or two] to guard the Stores at Philada. and Trenton. I can think of none more proper than Colo. Hogans[1] of Carolina at present at West Point. They are a tender set of people, but illy provided with Cloathing, and therefore require warm quarters. As I shall leave Colo. Clarke with the North Carolina Brigade at this place [and Kakiate, for the security of the Communication with the No. River] he will be within supporting distance of the posts, and will more than compensate for the reduction of your present force by withdrawing Hogans, which be pleased to put upon their march to Philada. by way of Trenton as quickly as possible, directing the commanding officer to call upon me at Middle Brook on his way down. Be pleased also to direct him to take as many of his Convalescents with him as he possibly can. I have ever found it beneficial to the service and to contribute to the regularity of duty to keep Corps and Brigades as compact as possible. I would therefore suggest to you, if you have not already made other arrangements, to send the small Regiments of Patton and Malcom to the East and West side of Kings Ferry; throw one of the Brigades into the Fort intire, and hut or cover the two others at such places as you think most convenient. Colo. Clarke had sent down two hundred Men to the Ferry upon the Alarm. I have desired him, if he has not withdrawn them, to let them

[1] Col. James Hogun, of the Third North Carolina Regiment.

remain there untill you send a party to releive them, which be pleased to do quickly as the Brigade to which they belong is under marching orders to this place. Colo. Clarke will be instructed to fall Back to the pass of the Clove at Sufferans whenever the Enemy appear in force up the River, and take his further orders from you. The troops destined for the Middle Brook Cantonment are again upon their march to that place for which I shall set out tomorrow. I am etc.[2]

To COUNT PULASKI

Paramus, December 7, 1778.

Dear Sir: I had the pleasure of receiving yours by Captn. LeBrun,[3] at this place. The spare ammunition of the Army having gone on with the park of Artillery to Pluckemin, I have given an order to have a proper supply sent on from thence. I have likewise given an order upon the Cloathier General for one hundred shirts. We have already made a distribution of what Blankets were upon hand. The Board of War are taking measures to procure a further quantity when you shall have a proportion.

The badness of the Roads at this season will render the transportation, of even a very light piece of Cannon, difficult. I have therefore declined sending it up at present; but should any offensive operation be determined upon, and it should be thought practicable to carry a piece or two of light Cannon thro the Woods, they can be sent up with more convenience when the Roads are hardened by the Frost.

I have directed the German Battalion to be stationed at Easton, with a view of ordering them to the Frontier should

[2]The draft is the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets have been added by Washington.

[3]Capt. Lebrun de Bellecour, of Pulaski's corps, and later captain in Armand's legion.

their assistance be needed. I have thought it better to let them remain there until wanted, than to send them up to consume your stores which I imagine are not very ample. I expect by the time this reaches you General Hand will have arrived. I am etc.

P. S. You will be pleased to be as careful as possible of the ammunition, delivering it out only when wanted, and ordering frequent examinations of the quantity delivered to see that there is no unnecessary waste by the soldiery.[4]

To BARON DE KALB

Paramus, December 7, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have received your favr. of the 5th. and am obliged by your ready compliance with my orders and the dispositions made by yourself for the security of the posts and Convention prisoners. The troops destined for the defence of the Highlands having arrived and the prisoners being by this time out of reach of any attempt from the Enemy, you will be pleased to begin your march immediately, for Middle Brook, calling in all the detached parties belonging to the division (except the German Battalion) and sending orders to the Escorts to follow you to Middle Brook, as fast as they have delivered their respective charges to the Officers releiving them. I am &ca.[5]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JACOB BAYLEY

Paramus, December 7, 1778.

Sir: Your two favors of the 23d. and 24th. Ultimo came to hand yesterday evening.

[4] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and James McHenry.
[5] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Lieut. Col. Wheelock, who has been with Congress, carries up with him their resolutions respecting Col. Bedel's Regiment to which I refer.

The communications in your letter of the 23rd. seem to be pretty general but I have not had time to give them a very attentive consideration. It is my desire that you would still continue your inquiries in the same line; for altho, the expedition, as I have mentioned at length in my last letter, is laid aside, for the present yet it may be resumed at a more convenient season. I would wish therefore to have every intelligence which can be procured from Canada.

You will find on the arrival of your son that I have sent you a supply of money. I am, etc.[6]

To COLONEL WILLIAM MALCOM

Paramus, December 7, 1778.

Sir: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your two favors of the 2d. and 5th. Inst.

I do not doubt but that every thing has been done towards completing the works, which was in the power of an active intelligent and good officer. But as the fort is not now within the protection of the army, it is therefore necessary to augment the number of garrison troops; and as these will be accompanied by a brigadier, it is impossible to comply with your wishes, however they may be agreeable to my own. A change of circumstances, and the situation of the army makes a larger force absolutely expedient.

[6] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

"In a letter lately written to Gen. Bayley I mentioned some of those reasons, which made it inexpedient to enter on a winter expendition. I could wish that our supplies and other circumstances were favorable to its execution; but as this is not the case it is necessary to suspend the enterprise for the present."—*Washington to Col. Moses Hazen,* Dec. 7, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

Under this idea you will see the propriety of the alteration in the command, besides considering the good which always results to the service from keeping corps compact, and as much as may be under the eye of their own officers. I am etc.[7]

To COLONEL DANIEL MORGAN

Paramus, December 7, 1778.

Sir: On receipt of this letter you will proceed with the Brigade under your Command to middle Brook, where your Ground will be pointed out to you by the Quarter Master Genl. Colo. Clark has orders to relieve the Guard at Mr. Erskines, and I shall give Colo. Febiger instructions before I leave this place. I am etc.[8]

To COLONEL THOMAS CLARK

Elizabeth Town, December 4[–7], 1778.

Sir: As the Convention Troops will have passed above you by the time this reaches you, the object of your Station at the Clove will have been effected. You will therefore be pleased to move down to Paramus with the Carolina Brigade and quarter your Men in as compact a manner as the situation of the Buildings will permit. You shall, upon my arrival at Middle Brook receive more particular instructions. I would recommend it to you, as soon as you have taken post, to make yourself acquainted with the Roads leading to the North River and have pickets established upon them at proper distances from you. You are in no danger from any other quarter. Should the Enemy move up the River in any considerable force, you are

[7] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

[8] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade. From a photostat of the original kindly furnished by E. F. Bonaventure, of New York City.

immediately to fall back to your former position at Sufferan's and send your Baggage to Pompton. Colo. Morgan furnished Mr. Erskine at Ringwood Iron Works with a guard of a serjeant and 12. be pleased to send the like number to releive them. They are to remain there during the Winter, as Mr. Erskine will be compleating some valuable surveys for the public.

Be pleased to make use of all means to cut off the intercourse between the Country and New York. You are upon no account to permit any inhabitant of the States of New York or New Jersey to pass to New York without permissions under the hands of their respective Governors. Upon your arrival at Paramus you are to send the inclosed to Colo. Febiger[9] at Hackinsack. It directs him to join his Brigade, as soon as you have taken post. I am &ca.

Paramus Decemr. 7.

The Enemy having gone down the River, you will immediately proceed to put the foregoing into execution. Be pleased to let the 200 Men under Colo. Mabane,[10] if they are not already withdrawn, remain near Kings ferry until they are relieved by a party, which will be sent over by Genl. McDougal. I must beg you to be particularly careful to prevent the Soldiers from burning the fences of the farmers and committing other disorderly acts. I am etc.

[P. S.] If Colo. Mabane should have been withdrawn from Kings ferry, be pleased to leave an officer and 50 Men at Kakiate until you receive further orders.[11]

[9] This inclosure, dated Dec. 4, 1778, is in the *Washington Papers*. It merely directs Febiger to join his brigade at Middlebrook.

[10] Lieutenant colonel and commandant of the First North Carolina Regiment. He was transferred to the Third North Carolina Regiment in June, 1779, and was taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1780.

[11] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. This letter was held over, and when that of December 7 was drafted, as above, it was added to the delayed letter of December 4 and the whole sent forward December 7. In the *Washington Papers*

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Paramus, December 7, 1778.

Sir: I had the honor of receiving yours of the 2d at this place. I have forwarded the Brevet to Capt. Seminot,[12] and shall take such Measures in regard to Colo. Fleury's letter, as shall seem proper, upon my arrival at Middle Brook, for which I set out again to morrow.

Upon leaving Elizabeth-town I directed Colo. Harrison to inform you of the intelligence I had received, and which I thought demanded my personal attention, as the enemy appeared to be going up the River in considerable force. Having put the Troops destined for the Middle Brook Cantonment upon their march back towards the North River, I was proceeding that way myself when an Express met me a few Miles beyond this, informing me that the enemys shipping which had been as high as Kings ferry had fallen down again. They landed a party at the Ferry and set fire to a few small Buildings near the Water, but upon a party of ours advancing they immediately debarked[13] without attempting any thing further. The Boats and Stores of every kind had been previously secured. I cannot account for this Manœuvre but by supposing that they have been misinformed as to the quantity of Stores at the Ferry, or that they expected to find the posts in

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the December 7 portion is a complete draft in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade, with an indorsed instruction that it is to be added to the letter of December 4 to Clark.

[12] Lieut. John Simonet de Valcour, of the Second Continental Dragoons. He had been given the brevet rank of captain by a resolve of Congress of Dec. 1, 1778, and permitted to retire.

[13] Inadvertently written instead of "embarked."

a defenceless situation. Or it may perhaps have been to favor a Forage below.

Finding that the Troops destined for the defence of the Highlands had arrived at their respective posts [agreeable to my orders and expectations,] I have again put those intended for Middle Brook into motion, and I hope they will arrive there while the Roads and Weather are both fine.

Accounts from New York, thro' a good Channel, inform me, that thirty thousand tons of shipping have been suddenly taken up for Government service and that a general Embargo is laid. The occasion has not yet transpired, at least it has not yet reached me. I have the honor &c.[14]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Paramus, December 7, 1778.

Dear Sir: I returned to this place from Elizabeth Town upon hearing that that the Enemy had gone up the North River in considerable force. Their ships proceeded as far as Kings ferry, at which place they landed a few men and burnt a small House upon the Wharf. The Boats and stores of every kind had been removed upon the first appearance of the ships. I do not know what was their true design; but they yesterday fell down again, without making any further attempts.

I have information thro' a Channel which has seldom deceived me, that the enemy shortly intend to make a forage upon the Monmouth coast. The distance of any Continental troops from that quarter, and the necessity they are under of employing every moment in providing covering for the Winter,

[14] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets in the draft are in the writing of Washington.

obliges me to desire your Excellency to give orders to the Militia in that County to remove the stock near the Coast, and to have a particular Regard to the Houses of the disaffected, who always have previous notice of the designs of the Enemy and lay up stores of provision that they may be at hand when they make a descent. By doing this they screen themselves from the charge of having voluntarily contributed. I shall set out tomorrow for Middle Brook at which place I shall be happy to receive your Excellency's favrs. I am, etc.[15]

INSTRUCTIONS TO BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Eliza. Town, December 8, 1778.

Sir: Upon my arrival at Middle Brook I shall furnish you with Instructions for the command at this post and its vicinity, at which you are to remain with the Jersey Brigade. I have at present to desire that you will take every measure to prevent an intercourse between the Country and New York and that no persons, inhabitants of these States, may be permitted to go thither or into the Enemy's lines without permission under the Hand of His Excellency the Governor of the State or myself. Neither are Flags to be sent, but at the request of the Governor or by my direction. I do not mean by the above to prevent you from sending the usual persons over for intelligence, and from allowing them to carry and bring such small matters as are necessary to cloak their designs. But I must beg you to keep a very watchful eye upon them, and see that they do not abuse this indulgence by turning it into an extensive trade. I am &ca.[15]

[15] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To COLONEL THEODORICK BLAND

Elizabeth Town, December 9, 1778.

Dear Sir: Your favr. of the 6th. reached me at this place last evening. I am exceedingly sorry that you have been disappointed in finding the necessary Escorts of Militia in Pennsylvania as carrying forward the Continental troops at this season of the year will be attended with insuperable difficulties. They have to build their Hutts after their return to Middle Brook. The German Regiment which is part of the Escort is to be stationed at Easton[16] for a particular purpose and therefore cannot proceed with you. Rather than let the divisions halt, and thereby croud upon one another, I would have you take forward such number of Continental troops as are absolutely necessary, untill you obtain a sufficient Militia Guard. To effect this, be pleased to dispatch an Express to the Board of War informing them that the Militia have not turned out agreeable to order, and desiring them to apply again to the Governor and Executive Council for a more peremptory order to the County Lieutenants. Mention the number requisite that there may be no further misunderstanding. I should imagine that after the troops of the Convention have passed Delaware the Foreigners will require a very small guard. I mention this, that if you should not be able to raise the full number of Militia, you may go on with the Foreigners weakly guarded rather than carry on the Continental Troops; which I must again beg you not to do but upon the most urgent necessity. I have no objection to Mr. Callisters[17] proceeding with you. I am &ca.[18]

[16] In Pennsylvania.
[17] Lieut. Archibald McCallister(?), of the First Maryland Regiment.
[18] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

*To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED

Middle Brook, December 12, 1778.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 7th. Instt. by Mr. Laurens[19] came to my hands a day or two ago; previous to which I should have done myself the pleasure of congratulating you (which I now do very sincerely) on your late Election to the government of Pensylvania had not Sir Harrys late extra Manœuvre up the North River kept me upon the March and countermarch from the 5th. till yesterday, when I arrived at these, my quarters for the Winter; and imployed too much of my attention to investigate his designs to endulge in more agreeable amusements.

What did, or could prompt the Knight to this expedition I am at a loss to discover (considering the unseasonableness of it). three things only appeared to me probable. A rescue of the Convention Troops, a stroke at the rear of our Army or, a surprize of our Posts in the high-lands; the two first I had seen perfectly out of his reach before I left the North River and not conceiving that he could be so much out in point of intelligence as to mistime matters so egregiously (if either of the two first was his object) it followed of consequence that the last must be his aim and tho I had left them (as I thought) in a state of security, and, in the hands of a good Officer (McDougall) I could not help being uneasy, lest disaster might happen and posted back from Elizabeth Town at 4 o'clock on the Morning of the 5th. and got within 12 or 15 Miles of King's Ferry, when I was met by an Express informing me that the Enemy had landed at that place, burn'd two or three small logged houses with 9. Barrls. of spoilt Herrings, and had reimbarkd and Sailed for New York again. Thus

[19] Lieut. Col. John Laurens.

ended this notable expedition which was conducted (in the preparation) with so much secrecy that all the Flag boats to, and from the City were stopped and not a mouse permitted to creep within their lines; the only bad consequence we have felt from it and as the weather has turned out not a trifling one, is that it has delayed the Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsa. Troops four days in hutting and has occasion'd them to march through Snow and bad roads to come at their ground instead of Sunshine and good ones which was the case before the Storm on thursday last.

It gives me very sincere pleasure to find that there is likely to be a coalition of the Whigs in your State (a few only excepted) and that the assembly of it, are so well disposed to second your endeavours in bringing those murderers of our cause (the monopolizers, forestallers, and engrossers) to condign punishment. It is much to be lamented that each State long ere this has not hunted them down as the pests of society, and the greatest Enemys we have to the happiness of America. I would to God that one of the most attrocious of each State was hung in Gibbets upon a gallows five times as high as the one prepared by Haman. No punishment in my opinion is too great for the Man who can build his greatness upon his Country's ruin.

General Lee's publication in Dunlaps Gazette of the third[20] (and I have seen no other) puts me in a disagreeable situation. I have neither leizure nor inclination to enter the lists with him in a News Paper, and so far as his production points to personallity I can, and do, from my inmost Soul, despise; but when he has most bare-facedly misrepresented facts in some places, and thrown out insinuations in others that have

[20] Dunlap's *Pennsylvania Packet* of December 3 contains General Lee's defense of his conduct at Monmouth, which he begins by the argument that his orders were indefinite and must have been one of three supposititious cases, which he outlines.

not the smallest foundation in truth, not to attempt a refutation, is a tacit acknowledgment of the justice of his assertions; for though there are thousands who know how unsupported his piece is, there are yet tens of thousands that know nothing of the matter and will be led, naturally, to believe that bold and confident assertions uncontradicted must be founded in truth.

It became a part of General Lee's plan from the moment of his Arrest (tho it was an event solicited by himself) to have the world believe that he was a persecuted man; and that, party was at the bottom of it; but however convenient it may have been for his purposes to establish this belief, I defy him, or his most zealous partisans to adduce a single instance in proof of it (unless bringing him to tryal at his own request is considered in this light). I can do more, I will defy any person out of my own family to say that I have ever mentioned his name, if it was to be avoided; and when not, that I have not studiously declined expressing any Sentiment of him, or his behaviour; how far this conduct accords with his, let his own breast decide. If he conceives that I was opposed to him, because he found himself disposed to enter into a party against me: If he thought I stood in his road to preferment, and therefore, that it was convenient to lessen me in the esteem of my Countrymen in order to pave the way for his own advancemt. I have only to observe, that, as I never entertained any jealousy of, or apprehended from him, so neither did I ever do more than common civility, and proper respect to his rank required, to conciliate his good opinion; his temper and plans were too versatile and violent to attract my admiration; and that I have escaped the venom of his tongue, and pen, so long, is more to be wondered at than applauded; as it is a favor that no Officer under whose immediate command he ever served has the happiness (if happiness can be thus denominated) of boasting.

Were I to give into private conveniency and amusement, I should not be able to resist the invitation of my friends to make Phila. (instead of a squeezed up room or two) my quarters for the Winter; but the affairs of the army require my constant attention and presence, and circumstanced as matters are at this time, calls for some degree of care and address to keep it from crumbling. As Peace and retirement are my ultimate aim, and the most pleasing and flattering hope of my Soul, every thing advansive of this end, contributes to my satisfaction, however difficult and inconvenient in the attainment; and will reconcile any place and all circumstances to my feelings whilst I continue in Service.

The Officers of the Army must be grateful for your endeavours to serve them; and those of your own State will, I trust, feel the salutary effects of your exertions in their favor. They really merit it, and resignations must cease to be wonderful when it is a fact too notorious to be denied that Officers cannot live in the Army under present circumstances whilst they see others enriching themselves by an infinity of ways. These are severe tests of public virtue and should not in point of policy be pushed too far. With sincere regard and affection, and with compliments to Mrs. Reed, I am etc.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Rariton,[21]
Saturday, December 12, 1778.

Parole Ramapaw. Countersigns Rariton, Ringwood.

At a General Court Martial held at Elizabeth Town, December 5th. 1778, by order of Major Genl. Lord Stirling, Colo.

[21] Washington reached Middlebrook on December 11 and took up his quarters in John Wallace's house at Raritan, about 4 miles west of Middlebrook (now Boundbrook). The house is in what is now Somerville, county seat of Somerset County,

Shreve, President, Major John Conway of the 4th. Jersey Regiment,[22] was tried for wilfully and insolently countermanding the orders of Colo. Ogden then Commandant of the Brigade; After due deliberation, the Court are of Opinion that Major Conway wilfully countermanded Colo. Ogden's order, but that he did not insolently do it and that Maj. Conway as Officer of the day had a right to countermand Colo. Ogden's order; For though Colonel Ogden was commanding Officer of the Brigade, yet he was not of the Post: The Court are further of opinion that Major John Conway be acquitted with honor.

The Commander in Chief confirms the opinion of the court. Major Conway to be released from his Arrest.

To GEORGE EMLEN

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 13, 1778.

Sir: I recd your favr. of the 20th. November, respecting the damage done to your farm by the Army in the Fall 1777,[23] and am [not a little surpd.] that General Mifflin should refer you to me [when] he well knows that [this is a business clearly within the line of the Quarter Masters department, and that every Acct. of the kind is to be settled by him, up to the date

N. J. In the *Washington Papers,* under date of June 4, 1779, the day after the Army marched from Middlebrook, is Wallace's receipt for 1,000 dollars "for the use of my house and Furniture &c. &c. which His Excellency General Washington had for his Head Quarters."

[22] Heitman gives Conway as having been transferred to the Third New Jersey Regiment in October, 1778. He was lieutenant colonel of the First New Jersey Regiment in July, 1779, and retired in January, 1781.

[23] Washington occupied the Emlen house, near Whitemarsh church, about 12 miles north of Philadelphia, from Nov. 3 to Dec. 11, 1777. A part of the left wing of the Army encamped directly in the rear of the house.

"I applied to General Mifflin the late Quarter Master General, Respecting the damages done by the Army, on my Plantation, last winter in Wood and Fencing; who tells me he can do nothing in it, And advised me to write to your Excellency concerning it. . . . I dont expect the present high prices of Wood and Rails, but shall be satisfied with a moderate Valuation."—*Emlen to Washington,* Nov. 20, 1778. Emlen's letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

of General Greene's appointment to that Office in March 1778. For such purposes as these it was, I thought, the late Sum was put into his hands. I am sorry you should have delay and difficulties to encounter, and that I am obliged to refer you back to the only Gentn. whose proper business it is to settle with you.] Be pleased to make my Compliments to Mrs. Emlen. I am&c.[24]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 13, 1778.

Sir: In a letter which I had the honor of receiving from Congress dated the 2d instant was inclosed the Copy of one from Lt Colo. Fleury, upon the subject of which the president desired me to express, "my Sentiments, as also of the Merits of Mr. Fleurey during his services in the Army."

I do not conceive that Congress should request a renewal of Colo. Fleury's Furlough from the French Minister plenipotentiary. An application of that kind ought in my opinion to be made by himself, not only because it is customary, but because sollicitations of a similar nature would in all probability be made by many not having Mr. Fleury's claim to the favr. of the public, and to whom it would be difficult to give a refusal after a precedent had been established. I would not be understood to include the case of Genl. Duportail and the Gentlemen in the Engineering department, who are peculiarly circumstanced, and in whose behalf I have written particularly to Congress.

As to Mr. Fleury's merits as an Officer I can only repeat which I have upon several occasions mentioned to Congress before, that he is brave, active and intelligent, and that should he obtain leave to remain in America I shall take an opportunity

[24] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The portions in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

(agreeable to my promise to him) of employing him in a manner suitable to his Rank, and in such a way as will not clash with the Officers of the line. I have the Honor &c.[25]

*To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Middle brook December 13, 1778.

Sir: It has not been in my power to return an answer to your favor of the 6th. Instt. till now. The letter met me on the road, seperated from my papers, and I did not reach this place till late on the 11th; since which I have been much employed, in attending to the disposition for hutting the Army; but in the mean time the objects of the dispatch have engaged my utmost consideration.[26]

[25] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The letter was read in Congress on December 17 and referred to Henry Laurens, Meriwether Smith, Gouverneur Morris, Samuel Adams, and Thomas Burke.

"In my opinion, the application to the French Minister plenipotentiary for a renewal of your Furlough would be made with more propriety by yourself than by Congress . . . the French Officers to whom you allude . . . are in a very peculiar situation. They were particularly requested from the Court of France and their services granted for a limited time; that time being nearly expired, the States must either sollicit their leave of Absence to be prolonged or they will be under the necessity of returning home. Upon this principle I desired Congress to express their wishes to the Minister plenipotentiary that Genl. du Portail and the Gentlemen of his department might, if agreeable to themselves, be allowed to remain in America."—*Washington to Fleury,* Dec. 13, 1779. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

On this same day (December 13) Washington wrote to Col. François Malmedy that he had not the information needed to enable him "to make out the Certificate of your services, I must desire you to send me an account of the different Commissions which you have borne in the American Army with their several dates." On February 9, 1779, according to a memorandum in Varick's writing, Washington gave the requested certificate to Malmedy "specefying the Dates of his Commissions. Adding that as far as his Conduct had fallen under the Generals Observation it had been that of a brave intelligent Officer."

Also, on this same day (December 13), he wrote a brief note to Rev. William Rogers, of Philadelphia, referring his application to Congress for an appointment as chaplain to the garrison at Philadelphia. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[26] "I have made the report of the Committee on Canada Affairs the subject of a particular letter which I have the honor of transmitting by this conveyance. . . . Lieut. Colonels Harrison and Hamilton went to Amboy on Monday last to meet the British Commissioners but the Weather had been so extremely bad that they had not met on Friday."—*Washington to the President of Congress,* Dec. 13, 1778. This letter is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.*

The earnest desire I have to pay the strictest compliance in every instance with the views and instructions of Congress, cannot but make me feel the greatest uneasiness when I find myself in circumstances of hesitation or doubt with respect to their directions. But the perfect confidence I have in the justice and candor of that honble. body, emboldens me to communicate without reserve the difficulties which occur in the execution of their present order; and the indulgence I have experienced on every former occasion, induces me to imagine that the liberty I now take will not meet with disapprobation.

I have attentively taken up the report of the Committee of the 5th. (approv'd by Congress)[27] on the subject of my letter of the 11th. Ulto. on the proposed expedition into Canada. I have considered it in several lights, and sincerely regret that I should feel myself under any embarrassment in carrying it into execution. Still I remain of opinion from a general review of things, and the state of our resources, that no extensive system of co-operation with the French, for the complete emancipation of Canada, can be positively decided on, for the ensuing year. To propose a plan of perfect co-operation with a foreign power, without a moral certainty in our Supplies; and to have that plan actually ratified with the Court of Versailles, might be attended in case of failure in the conditions on our part with very fatal effects.

If I should seem unwilling to transmit the plan as prepared by Congress, with my observations, it is because I find myself under a necessity (in order to give our Minister sufficient ground to found an application on) to propose something more than a vague and indecisive plan; which even in the

[27] This committee had been appointed October 30 to consider the letter of October 27 from Lafayette on the proposed Canadian expedition.

event of a total evacuation of the States by the Enemy, may be rendered impracticable in the execution, by a variety of insurmountable obstacles, or, if I retain my present sentiments, and act consistently, I must point out the difficulties as they appear to me, which must embarrass his negotiations, and may disappoint the views of Congress.

But proceeding on the idea of the enemy's leaving these States before the active part of the ensuing Campaign, I should fear to hazard a mistake as to the precise aim and extent of the views of Congress. The line of conduct that I am to observe in writing to our Minister at the Court of France, does not appear sufficiently diliniated. Were I to undertake it, I should be much affraid of erring through misconception. In this delemma I would esteem it a particular favor to be excused from writing at all, on the Subject, especially as it is the part of candor in me, to acknowledge, that I do not see my way clear enough to point out such a plan for co-operation as I conceive to be consistent with the ideas of Congress, and that will be sufficiently explanatory with respect to time and circumstances to give efficacy to the measure. But if Congress still think it necessary for me to proceed in the business, I must request their more definitive and explicit instructions, and that they will permit me, previous to transmitting the intended dispatches, to submit them to their determination.

I could wish to lay before Congress more minutely the State of the Army, the condition of our Supplies, and the requisites necessary for carrying into execution an undertaking that may involve the most serious events. If Congress think this can be done more satisfactorily in a personal conference, I hope to have the Army in Such a Situation before I can receive their answer, as to afford me an oppertunity of giving my attendance.

I would only add, that I shall chearfully comply with the directions of Congress, relative to making every preparation in

our power for an Expedition against Niagara; and for such further operations to the Northward as time and circumstances shall enable us to carry on. Measures for this purpose have been taken in part for some time past, and I shall pursue them vigorously. The subject has long engaged my contemplation, and I am thoroughly convinced of the expediency and policy of doing every thing practicable, on our part, for giving security to our Frontiers by the reduction of those places which facilitate annoying them, and even for accomplishing the annexation of Canada to the Union. I have the honor etc.

P. S. I have detained the letter to the Marquis till your further Instructions. The Waters have been so high as to prevent the Express setting out yesterday, with this dispatch, as was intended.[28]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 13, 1778.

Sir: In consequence of your favr. of the 5th. I shall take the first opportunity that offers of ordering Israel Dodge[29] to Fort Pitt, and shall direct him to call at Philada. on his way.

Mr. Hoogland[30] Adjt. of Sheldon's Regt. of Dragoons is employed by the Colonel to provide the Regiment Cloathing for the ensuing Year. He goes to Pennsylvania, as the most likely

[28] The draft of this letter, in the *Washington Papers,* is in the writing of James McHenry, with many alterations and changes and substitutions in the writing of Washington. The letter was read in Congress on December 17 and referred to the committee to which Washington's letter of Dec. 13, 1778, respecting Colonel Fleury, was referred, *q. v.* This committee brought in its report December 18, which was adopted the same day as follows: "Resolved, That General Washington be directed to attend Congress immediately after he shall have put the army in such order as to admit of his absence from it a few days."

[29] "The Board of War have requested that Israel Dodge of Colo. Durkees Regiment may be sent to Philada. from whence he is to go to Fort Pitt to his Brother who is employed in Indian Affairs. Be pleased therefore to have him paid up and give him a pass to Philada."—*Washington to Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam,* Dec. 13, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[30] Lieut. Jeronimus Hoogland. He was adjutant of the Second Continental Dragoons, and had been promoted to captain on Nov. 20, 1778.

place of procuring leather Breeches for which I must desire the Board to give him a Credit upon the Makers. As it will be more convenient to draw their Cloth Cloathing from the Eastern department, be pleased to give directions to Messrs. Otis and Andrews to furnish the necessary quantity agreeable to the Regimental Returns; which will be furnished by the Adjt. I am, etc.[31]

To MAJOR GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 13, 1778.

Dear Sir: Upon my arrival here I found your favor of the 5th. Your own letter communicated the first hint that I ever recd. of any representations on reports made by the Board of War to Congress respecting you or your command in Philada.[32] The Board some little time ago applied to me for a Regiment or two to be stationed at Philada. and Trenton to do the Town Duties and guard the Stores, alledging that the militia complained of the hardship of being turned out for these purposes. I have accordingly ordered down Colo. Hogan's Regt. of North Carolina which is as much as I can [with propriety] spare. I [have never heard, nor is it my] wish to be acquainted with the causes of the coolness between [some] Gentlemen composing the Board of War and yourself. I most sincerely hope that they may never rise to such a height as to oblige

[31] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman, addressed to Peter Scull, secretary to the Board of War.

The next day (December 14) Washington wrote to George Measam at Hartford: "For the present I think it will be best to Store the cloathing forwarded to your charge by Otis and Andrews, where you now are, at least till my further orders on the subject. It cannot be determined precisely what number of Shirts, hose, shoes and hats we shall want in this quarter; however you need not be apprehensive of our having too many of either. You will be pleased to send a proportion of each to this side of the North River, keeping a reserve for those troops on the other." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[32] Arnold's letter is not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

either party to make a public matter of it, as I am under more apprehensions on account of our own dissentions than of the efforts of the Enemy. I am etc.[33]

*To MAJOR HENRY LEE

Head Quarters, December 14, 1778.

Dear Lee: The bearer has my horse in exchange for your Mare. He takes with him another which I am willing to give for the old Mare you mentioned to me (if she has not quite passed her teeming time) he is of the same age of the other, bought at the same time, of the same person, and has given sufficient proofs of his goodness. He has been foundered, and not yet perfectly recovered of it; for which reason, and having no inclination to impose upon the public, you may take him upon tryal to be replaced next Campaign by another if the founder should render him unfit for Service. No duty is to be expected of him this Winter.

I do not want the Mare to be sent to me, my wish is to send her and the other to my Seat in Virginia. Do you know of any good and safe oppertunity of doing it? Were you not to have sent a Horse to me to look at for my own riding? Will you come and dine with me today? I am, etc.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ENOCH POOR

Head Quarters, December 14, 1778.

Dear Sir: This morning Capt. White handed me your favor of the 5th. Inst.

While I am willing to gratify your inclination in a visit to your family, I could wish at the same time, that it might be

[33] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

as short as [convenient] with your affairs. It is by no means certain how long we shall continue inactive. It is expedient therefore to have [as many as] possible of the General [and other] Officers with the army this winter, least a small change in circumstances should render their presence indispensably necessary. You will I am persuaded accommodate your stay to these sentiments.

The arrangement is not yet definitely settled. But I would imagine the Officers may be ordered to take their respective commands agreeable to the late arrangement; as I have no doubt of its being ultimately confirmed by Congress. I am etc.

P. S. I inclose you a news paper by which you will observe that Congress have confirmed the arrangement. It came to hand since writing the above.[34]

CIRCULAR TO VIRGINIA BRIGADIERS[35]

[December 14, 1778.]

Sirs: As it seems to be the General opinion of the officers in the Virginia line that those men who have but a short time to serve would inlist, on being indulged with leave of absence untill the middle of April next; I would have you proceed on that business immediately, and the better to accommodate the matter it will be well, that it should commence thro out the line at the same time, when a sufficient number of men are inlisted to form a body worth marching off under proper officers. The Commanding officer of each Regt. will appoint one to take charge of such men as he may have inlisted, with

[34] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

[35] Brig. Gens. Peter Muhlenberg, William Woodford, and Charles Scott.

instructions to march them in good order to the most convenient place where they may be dispersed and proceed to their respective homes, with positive orders to rendezvous at some fix'd spot at so early a season as will insure their arrival in camp by the middle of April next. As you are acquainted with the terms of inlistment it will be unnecessary to repeat them, I shall therefore only request that every exertion may be used to accomplish so desirable an end, and wish your efforts may prove successful. I am &ca.[36]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Camp Middle Brook,
Monday, December 14, 1778.

Parole Middle Brook. Countersigns Nash, Oxford.

Much of the sickness among the Troops seems to have been occasioned by the improper method adopted in forming many of the Hutts last Winter; Some being sunk in the ground and others covered with Earth; To avoid consequences of a similar nature as far as in our power from occuring again, The Commander in Chief directs, that all the officers on the ground see that their men observe the Instructions of the Quarter Master General in the formation of their huts. That they be roofed with boards, slabs or large shingles; That the men be not suffered to dig into the ground (except so far as to level the surface) or to cover their huts with earth or turf.

The officers will likewise see that their men erect bunks or births to keep them off the ground and proper conveniencies in their huts for the purpose of preserving their Arms and Accoutrements from being damaged.

[36] The draft is in the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Camp Middle Brook,
Tuesday, December 15, 1778.

Parole Plutarch. Countersigns Quincy, Russell.

The regimental Pay Masters are to call on the Pay Master General for the Month of October's Pay.

*To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 15, 1778.

Sir: Without loss of time you will provide, and deposit at Albany Sail cloth, Rigging, Pitch, Junk, Iron and every other Material for Ship Building. I cannot at this Instt. give you either the kind or dimensions of the Vessels which are to be built as it is necessary for me to advise with good naval judges on this occasion before I resolve; but, that you may have some data for your government, say four Square rigged Vessels of Twenty guns each. Or ten large and stout row Galleys.

You will have an exact acct. taken of all the Batteaux which now are, or can be repaired (and got in order for hard Service) by the middle of April next, and transmit the same to Majr. Genl. Schuyler at Albany. This acct. is [ment] to comprehend all the Batteaux on Hudsons River and such others as can be spared and transported from the Delaware to the former. Information of this kind will enable Genl. Schuyler to fix upon the number of New ones to be built, and your Deputy in that department will receive Orders from him accordingly.

You are to form Magazines of Forage at Albany and other places, under directions to be received from Genl. Schuyler, and you are to provide at Albany a number of felling axes, 3000, and a full and compleat assortment of Intrenching Tools; in

doing these regard is to be had to such as can be spared from this, and other Posts, after the Hutting is compleated. All new made Tools should, besides having the public mark, be stamped with the initials of the Maker's name that impositions may more readily be detected and justice done the public, as great complaints are made of the defective quality of our Tools.

It may also be necessary to provide Bags for the transportation of short forage, the number necessary will be best known by a consultation with the officer at the head of that department, and the means of obtaining them. It will be proper also to know whether a number of Sleds (no matter how course and rough) could be had at a sudden call and fat cattle sufficient, obtained to draw them.

A Number of Ship and other Carpenters should be provided at Albany for the various purposes there wanted; their particular application will be directed by Majr. Genl. Schuyler.[37]

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Quarters, December 15, 1778.

Dear Sir: His Excellency is not a little surprised to hear that Count Pulaski's legion has got back to Easton, from whence he will remove them the moment he knows where to send them. Colo. Moylans Regiment is certainly to remain at Lancaster so they cannot go there, and it will not do to send them to Frederick town upon the chance of that place being vacant. If there is a possibility of subsisting them at or near the Minisink His Excellency would order them back, he thinks their coming down is only a pretence to get into more comfortable

[37] The letter sent was in the writing of James McHenry and varied from this draft in spelling and capitalization only. It was in the possession of Capt. F. L. Pleadwell, U. S. Navy, in 1930. The word in brackets has been inserted in the draft by an unknown hand.

quarters. Be pleased to enquire of Colo. Biddle whether he has had any representation of the state of Forage in that Country. If he is of opinion that they really cannot be subsisted there, let him name any place where there are no Horse at present and they shall be instantly ordered thither. All our Compliments wait upon Mrs. Greene. I am, etc.[38]

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

Head Quarters, December 16, 1778.

Sir: I received Yesterday the Inclosed Letter from Colo. Butler,[39] with one addressed to myself. As far as the interview *requested* depends on my concurrence there will be no objection; and whatever place may be thought proper for the purpose will be agreeable to me. I would add, however, if you meet Colonel Butler, that Elizabeth Town point appears to me most convenient for the occasion.[40] I am etc.[41]

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 16, 1778.

Dear Sir: As I expect shortly to be called upon by Congress to lay before them a general State of the Army with our Resources and prospects for the ensuing Campaign; I am collecting

[38] This letter is signed by Tench Tilghman, and is from a copy in the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress made from the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1892.

[39] Lieut. Col. William Butler, of the Thirty-eighth Foot, British Army.

[40] Lee at this date was in Philadelphia.

On this same day (December 16) Washington also wrote to Butler that there was no objection to the meeting and that Elizabeth Town point was the most convenient place.

Lee wrote to Washington (December 24) and Washington replied (December 26), granting permission for the meeting; he also wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Butler on that day, referring him to General Maxwell, who was to manage the matter at Elizabeth Town. These letters are in the *Washington Papers*.

[41] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

from the Gentlemen at the Heads of the several great departments their opinions of the present and future prospect of supplies in their respective lines. Your department (including Forage) being of the utmost consequence and the one in which I fear we shall be most distressed, I am to request you will draw me up such a state as will enable me to point out to Congress in a summary manner in what Articles you are most apprehensive of a deficiency; whether such deficiency is likely to arise from a real or artificial scarcity, and what will be the most probable means of remedying such evil. There are perhaps other matters, which do not strike me, which it would be proper and which you would wish to have represented to Congress. If there are I would wish you to include them, and I assure you that no exertions of mine shall be wanting to get them put upon such a footing as will conduce to the good of the service and the ease and reputation of your Office. I am &c.[42]

To MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL

Head Quarters, December 16, 1778.

Dear Sir: I duly received your favour of the 9th. and am much obliged to you for the several particulars you communicate. The prize gained by Sir Henry seems hardly to have been worth the trouble of the expedition.

I am sorry that Col. Malcom is not sensible of the necessity which has deprived him of his late command. The very advantageous opinion I entertained of him made me wish it had been possible to continue him in it; but it could not have been done without giving just cause of dissatisfaction to many other deserving officers, besides injuring the service in some

[42] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

other respects, [as I mentioned to him in a Letter from Paras.[43]] I think the Colonel, on cooler reflection, will come to feel the force of the motives, which have occasioned the change.

You will detain Col. Gouvion with you till you hear further on the subject. General Du Portail, to whom, I generally leave the particular arrangements of his corps, is now at Philadelphia. Inclosed is a line for Mr. Gouvion directing him to continue with you 'till further orders.

I intirely approve the dispositions you have made, and have the most perfect reliance on your future good management.

There is a matter of no small importance in which, I shall be obliged to you, for your opinion, as speedily and fully as possible. The probable prospects of next campaign make it the part of prudence to be turning our attention towards Canada, and to be preparing as far as our circumstances will permit, for operations in that quarter, either partially against those posts, which enable the enemy to distress our frontiers, Niagara &c., or, more extensively, for the union of that province to the confederacy, as the future posture of our affairs, may put it in our power to undertake. Perhaps the more partial plan may best suit with our resources. The reduction of Niagara, if it can be effected, is an event essential to the tranquility of the states. This is not to be accomplished, without destroying the enemy's naval force on Lake Ontario, the means of doing which is what I wish at this time to have your sentiments concerning. They have by the best information I can procure, three armed vessels on the lake, two of eighteen six pounders each and one small one with swivels. I presume you are informed of the nature of the navigation on the lake; it is said to be often very turbulent and difficult. The question then is, what kind of vessels,

[43] Paramus, N. J. (See Washington's letter to Col. William Malcom, Dec. 7, 1778, *ante*.)

what number and with what force will give us a moral certainty of acquiring the necessary superiority on the lake? In determining this question we are to consider the time and means we have for building, the place where it will be best to build, the transportation of the vessels from that place to Lake Ontario, the facility of furnishing them with the number and size of cannon, which will be proper, and the possibility of the enemy's constructing other vessels on the lake in addition to those they already have there, by the time the season for beginning our operations arrives, or after they are actually begun. These and many other particulars, which ought to be taken into consideration will occur to you; and after viewing the subject in all its lights, you will be good enough to favour me with your ideas at large.

The place where the vessels ought to be built is a point of material consequence; because as that is more or less remote from the object we have in view, our design will be the more or less easily discovered. If we should be obliged to build at Oswego, it might perhaps announce our intention with too great certainty, whereas it might be better covered by building somewhere on the upper part of the Hudson, so as to create a jealousy for Lake Champlain; but the expediency of this must depend on the degree of difficulty in transporting the vessels after they are built. I need not suggest to you the necessity of secrecy in this affair. I am etc.[44]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL HENRY KNOX

Head Quarters, December 16, 1778.

Dear Sir: His Excellency desires you will inform him, as shortly and with as much accuracy as possible, what number

[44] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

of battering Cannon you have mounted in the park[45] and at the different Arsenals with their Calibres and whether there are any and what number not yet mounted, which might be got ready if wanted.

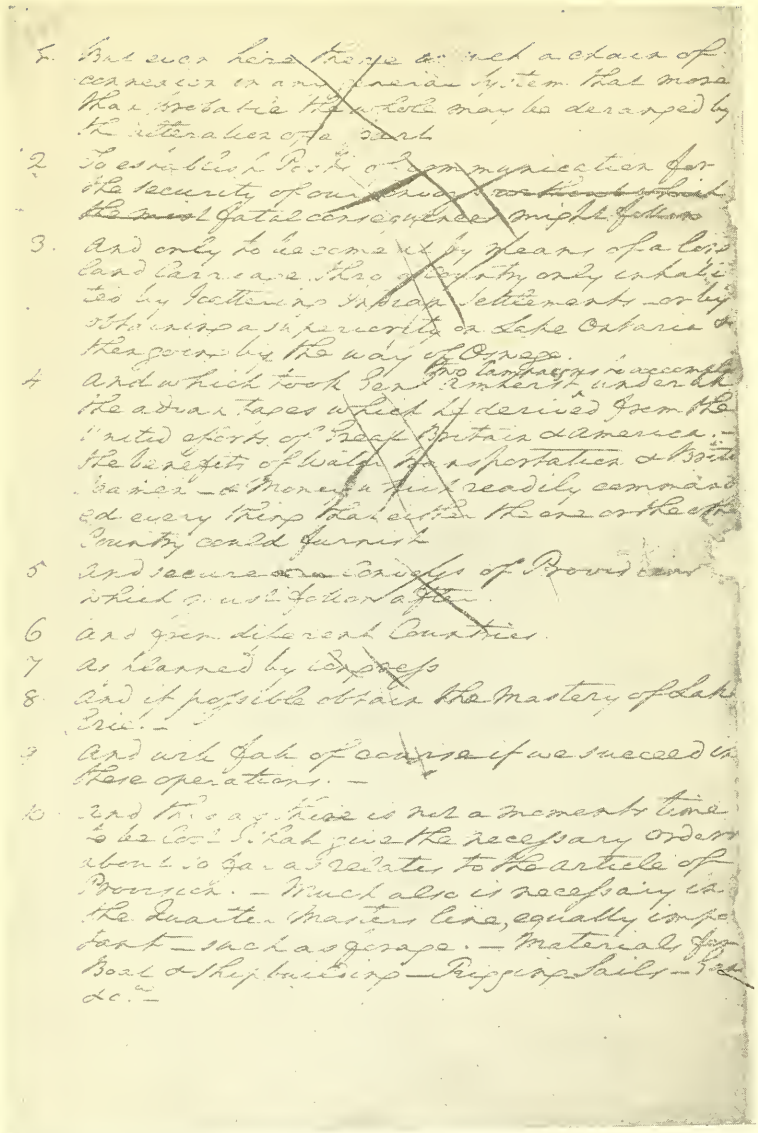
We have not a word of news. I am, etc.[46]

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING PULASKI'S CORPS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 16, 1778.

Sir: I am informed by the Qr. Mr. General that you have returned to Easton with the Horse of Count Pulaski's and Colo. Armands Corps, not being able to procure Forage at Minisink or in that neighbourhood. It will not be possible for you to remain at Easton, without the greatest inconvenience to the service, as you must consume that Forage which is necessary for the Teams upon the communication and a great deal of that which is intended for this Camp. Colo. Hooper[47] the Deputy Qr. Mr. Genl. has directions to canton the Horse under your command in such places as he shall find least liable to the objections above mentioned, you will therefore be directed entirely by him and remove to such place as he shall point out. That no more Forage may be consumed than is absolutely necessary, you are to divest yourself of all supernumerary Waggon and Baggage Horses and of all Dragoon Horses unfit for service, which are to be delivered up to Colo. Hooper who will dispose of them in a proper manner. You are to take particular care that the Officers attend to their Men and Horses that they may be kept in good order and ready to be collected for service at a Moment's warning. I am &ca.[48]

[45] The artillery park was at Pluckamin, N. J.
[46] This letter was signed by Tench Tilghman.
[47] Col. Robert Lettis Hooper, jr., Deputy Quartermaster General.
[48] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.



ROUGH DRAFT OF PART OF WASHINGTON'S ANALYSIS OF THE PROPOSED EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA, NOVEMBER. 1778

To JEREMIAH WADSWORTH

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 16,[49] 1778.

Sir: I am so anxious to have large magazines laid in at Albany and on Connecticut river from No. 4 (or Fort Charles) up to the lower Co'os inclusively, that I cannot help again urging you to the utmost exertions in the execution of this business. At the same time I am desirous of knowing, whether from a more critical examination of your deputies you have cause to change your opinion with respect to the estimated quantities mentioned in your letter of the 16th. Ulto., and request that you will now say with as much precision as the nature of the case will admit;

1. How many days provision you can lay up at Albany for ten thousand men, including the followers of the army by the 1st. day of February next?

How many in like manner and time, for five thousand men at the lower Co'os?

Whether you could keep those two bodies regularly supplied at or advanced of those places afterwards; or whether you could provide for a larger number at those places especially at Albany?

In solving these several questions, the matter is to be considered in two points of view.

First on a supposition, that the enemy will evacuate these states, and that the army now in cantonments may be employed in those quarters.

Secondly, on a supposition that the enemy will remain, but that we may have it in our power to transfer the greatest part of this army, Northward, in addition to those troops at Albany;

[49] The date has been rewritten so that it is difficult to decide whether it should be December 15 or 16. The indorsement has it 16.

leaving only such a force, as may serve to give countenance to the country, and prevent depredations, implying at the same time the militia which may be called in for this purpose. I am etc.[50]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Middle brook, December 16, 1778.

Dear Sir: Till now I have not had a moments time to reply to your Excellency's several favors of the 12th, 14th & 15th Inst.

I find every disposition not only to afford security to the people of Monmouth, and lessen the duty of their militia; but, to prevent the illicit trade and correspondence complained of between the disaffected in that County, and the City of New York, could it be affected by any part of this army, consistent with that general plan which has been adopted for its cantonments.

Your Excellency will observe, that I have already distributed largely for the security of this state, and that the safety of its inhabitants has been a particular consideration; But it is impossible to include every place. Besides the detaching to the westward there is a brigade stationed at Bergen to cover the Country in that quarter. Should I venture on any further detachments from this part of the army it might very much endanger the whole. Small and unsupported cantonments might become objects with the enemy, and I should not have it in my power to give any essential service to the State at large or a serious opposition to the enemy should they shew themselves in force during the winter. I should also too much endanger the Stores.

[50] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry. The last clause seems to have been confused through hurry; it should read: "implying at the same time that the militia may be called in for this purpose."

As to the allotment of any particular corps of the cavalry for this purpose, they have all gone into quarters, and have long since had the necessary provision of forage established at those places; but besides this, absolute rest from ordinary fatigue is indispensable that the horse may be in condition to act the ensuing campaign, as well as to have their accoutrements repaired.

I agree with your Excellency in opinion, that all persons of the enemy, captured under the circumstances as stated in your letter of the 14th [51] should be considered as prisoners to this particular State; and as such exchangeable by this State, for its own particular inhabitants in confinement or captivity with the enemy. I have the honor etc.[52]

To JOHN BEATTY [53]

Head Quarters, December 16, 1778.

Sir: Sir Henry Clinton having called for the return of our Officers on parole; You will take the earliest occasion after receipt of this to call for the immediate return of the Convention and other Officers, if any other there be, who have been permitted to go to the Enemy on parole; or for the purpose of being exchanged, if it has not been accomplished by his releasing an equal number required by you; or unless he immediately does it. In your demand of the Convention Officers, you will not include Lieutenant General Burgoyne. Mr. Mercereau who is in these parts, it is probable, can furnish you with a more accurate list of the Convention Officers under the above description, than you may have before received.

[51] Livingston's letter of December 14 is not found in the *Washington Papers;* but from his letter of December 21 the persons in question were those in a British ship which stranded on the Jersey coast.

[52] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

[53] Commissary General of Prisoners of the Continental Army. Beatty was then at Princeton, N. J.

As the order for recalling the Convention and Other Officers on parole, is founded on the measures Genl. Clinton has taken with respect to Ours, who had received a like indulgence; if he should countermand his orders for their return, the directions I have given you, concerning the Convention and Other Officers on parole, are to be dispensed with. I am etc.[54]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 16, 1778.

Sir: Since I had the Honor of addressing you on the 13th. the Gentlemen appointed to meet Commissioners from Sir Henry Clinton have returned to Camp. Your Excellency will find by a Copy of their Report No. 7, which with the other papers respecting the meeting, is inclosed,[55] that an Exchange of prisoners has not taken place.

As an exchange has not been effected, and Sir Henry Clinton has called for all our Officers on parole; I shall in consequence of the Resolution of the 19th Ulto. order the Commissary of Prisoners to require the immediate return of the Convention and any other Officers with the Enemy on parole. I do not mean however, to include General Burgoyne in the demand, unless Congress should direct it; as there appears to me, many political reasons for permitting him to remain in Britain in his present temper. But if Congress should differ from me in opinion on this point, I shall be happy to be informed, that measures may be pursued for his recall. I have the honor, etc.[56]

[54] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[55] Copy of this report, which was drawn up December 15 at camp, and copies of collateral papers are filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

[56] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter was read in Congress on December 22, and that body approved the proceedings of the commissioners the same day. It also ordered "That so much of General Washington's letter as relates to the said negotiations, together with the papers enclosed, be published."

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Camp Middle Brook,
Wednesday, December 16, 1778.

Parole Southborough. Countersigns Tudor, Ulster.

Major General Lord Stirling is to take the command of the three Virginia Brigades.

The regimental Pay Masters are to bring in their Pay Rolls to the Pay Master General for November when they apply for October's Pay.

*To LUND WASHINGTON

Middle brook, December 17, 1778.

Dear Lund: Since my last from Elizabethtown, I have arrived at these my Quarters for the Winter, and have received your Letters of the 25th of last month and 2d. of this; and have also heard of Mrs. Washingtons safe arrival at Philadelphia. The list of Horses has come safe, but I thought their had been more of them.

I observe what you say in your Letter of the 2d. Instt. respecting the measurement of Marshalls land. I have already, in a letter about the last of November, given you full directions on this head, and in the one from Elizabethtown desired you to fix the quantity at 500 Acres, to save trouble; but to get it lower if you can, as, from Memory, I think the number of Acres less than that; but could tell almost to a certainty if I could have recourse to my Papers; however, I again repeat, that I had rather fix it at that quantity than let the matter lie open, or run the hazard of disputing with him about bounds. In short, than to delay a moment; for as I have mentioned to you in some former letters, I shall not be in the least surprized

to hear that he has hit upon some expedient (if in consequence of his Sale he has not made purchases wch. he may be equally desirous of fulfiling) to get off his bargain with you; for when he comes to find that a barrel of Corn which usually sold for 10/ well now fetch £5 and so with respect to other Articles, he will soon discover that the great (nominal) price which he got for his land, is, in fact, nothing, comparitively speaking; for by the simple rule of preportion, he ought to have got £20 at least; as I would, in the best times of money, have given him 50/. or more for his land by the Acre. but this under the rose. We need not open his, or the eyes of others to these matters, if they do not already see them. This leads me to say, that I am afraid Jack Custis, in spite of all the admonition and advice I gave him against selling faster than he bought, is making a ruinous hand of his Estate; and if he has not closed his bargains beyond the possibility of a caval, I shall not be much surprized to hear of his having trouble with the Alexanders; notwithstanding your opinion of Bobs disposition to fulfil engagements. Jack will have made a delightful hand of it, should the money continue to depreciate as it has lately done, having Sold his own land in a manner for a Song, and be flung in his purchases of the Alexanders. If this should be the case, it will be only adding to the many proofs we dayly see of the folly of leaving bargains unbound by solemn covenants. I see so many instances of the rascallity of Mankind, that I am almost out of conceit of my own species; and am convinced that the only way to make men honest, is to prevent their being otherwise, by tying them firmly to the accomplishmt. of their contracts.

I like your method (in case of necessity) of giving work instead of building Houses, in the exchange with Barry; the

one may be reduced to a certainty, the other cannot. In the one case, it is nothing to you whether the Carpenters work or play, in the other, you may have trouble and vexation, not only on acct. of their idleness, but misconceptions, and a thousand little matters which may be edged in under the idea of doing the Work *Well, Neat* &ca. &ca.

I do not know what kind of a Conveyancer Arrell is, (he is big enough to draw a good Deed.), but as size does not always qualify a man for such business, I wish you to get Mr. Harrison to look them over, or draw them himself (he has promised this). I wish with all my heart you had got Stones Land at 10 Dollars pr. Acre when it was offered, as I have no expectation of your getting it at that price now. What money you may have in your hands of mine, after complying with all my contracts, and the Debts I owe, may be put into the Continental loan Office; you must receive from Weedon such Sum or Sums as he is disposed to pay on General Mercers Acct. In doing this, begin with his first Bond (for I think there are 4 of £500 each, or 5 of £400) and go regularly on with the principal and Interest of each. It runs in my head that the first of these bonds was sent to Colo. Lewis to be tendered to a Mr. Blair, of whom I bought Colo. Mercers Land on four Miles run, and that he (Blair) declined receiving it; whether I am right, or wrong in this matter, I cannot be positive. If the first of these Bonds (from Mercer to me) is not among my bundle of Bonds, it must have been applied as above; or is yet in the hands of Colo. Lewis, as I am pretty confident that no money was ever paid to me by Mercer or his Executors.

In a letter which I have lately received from Mr. James Mercer, in answr. to one of mine, he says, he is pretty confident that the four Miles run Land bought of him, and the Attorney of his

Brother, was acknowledged in the General Court (that it was to have been so, I perfectly remember) and that my Bond for the payment of his Brothers moiety must be, he thinks, in the hands of Mr. Neil McCool the joint attorney with Blair. When Custis went last from Camp I desired him to examine the records of the General Court and see if this deed was among them, duely executed. I have since heard (from him) that the Papers of the General Court are at Richmond; but nothing more of the matter committed to his charge; tho he has promised to satisfie himself and me by sending them. The reasons for my being thus particular to you at this time, are, that I want, first to be satisfied, that the Land is properly conveyed to me, and secondly, that I may discharge my Bond to the Attorney, or Attorneis of Colo. Geo. Mercer; James Mercers part being to be paid by a discount of so much out of the Sum he owes me. To effect the first, write to Custis, reminding him of my anxiety to obtain information on this head; and if you find that the land is properly secured, endeavor to hunt up McCool, whose wife saved him, it seems from banishment, while the other, Blair, coming under the description of an Act, that rid the State of Virginia of a good many Scotch Laddies is no longer a non-resident among you. If McCool has the Bond, as Mr. James Mercer thinks he must, make him a tender of the money; if he refuses to receive it, place it in the loan office agreeable to the Laws of the state. If he has not the Bond, nor you cannot learn where it is, I think some such advertisement as the one inclosed, might be inserted in the Virginia Gazette; but if you should have an oppertunity I wish you to consult Colo. Mason on the Subject previous to the insertion of it, that every thing may be placed upon a clear and fair footing. I have been in some kind of doubt respecting the propriety, and the equity of paying Interest on the Bond, as I have been always

ready, willing, and even upon the hunt after it, to discharge the obligation of it. I do not recollect with certainty the Sum I was to pay for this Land, and the amount of the Bond; but think it was £800 the whole Sum, and that my Bond passed for £400. If the credit in my Books do not shew, I cannot now inform you; and application if you cannot get at the Bond, must be made to Mr. James Mercer for information.

I think Captn. Brooke must be misinformed with respect to Tomison Ellzeys entry, so far as it relates to me. I am morally certain there is not an inch of waste land. within the bounds I claim to; and which are old and anciently marked. I have run every line by the Deeds, and found the Corners, and marked Trees, that line between Johnston and me from the road down to the hiccory, by my fence, was thinly marked; and may have had those that were formerly there (when I bought the Land) cut down, as I never could prevent a tresspass on that Quarter by Darrell &ca. I know of no Man more capable of such a practice than Ellzey; but think he is upon a wrong scent in the present case; however, as it is a matter I never had the most distant suspicion of, and rely upon Memory, which may deceive me, it will be proper for you to make more particular enquiry into his conduct and if you find he is engaged in such a dirty piece of business, forward the inclosed letter immediately to the proprietors office, to stop a Patent till I can be heard. The line from the hiccory above mentioned to Dogue run, is, if my Memory does not much deceive me, thick marked; but the Corner tree on the run decayed (a Beech) and I suppose e're this, fallen. the run from thence downwards is the boundary; I can not therefore find out upon what ground he can possibly found, or lay an Entry.

I wish, every now and then, that you would take a look at the Land I bought of Mercer, to prevent Tresspasses, which

very probably may be continued upon the old plan, as I am told that almost every body adjoining, and near to it, made free with the Timber; for which, and its contiguity to Alexandria, it is mostly to be valued. There is one Ball near to the land acquainted with the lines, get him to shew them to you, and to have an eye to the Land; that no tresspass is committed.

If you get Marshalls Land secured to me, it will behoove you to exert yourself to get some Meadow upon it, and to put the other Meadows in good order against I see them; or, notwithstanding my hearty assent to your getting Morris's land, I shall look to the meadow at that place with a grudging eye. Has the Meadow at the Ferry Plantation, wch. in some former letter you informed me was much injured by an uncommon rain storm, recovered the damage it then sustained? Are the bare places repaired? and is the Grass well taken over the whole Ground that was Seeded?

One reason for my wishing you to consult Colo. Mason on the Advertisemt. respecting the Money, due to the Attornies of Colo. George Mercer is that this is an English debt, and I am unacquainted with the laws or practice of the Estate respecting them, as I have (supposing the fact to be so) got the Land, I am willing to pay the Money, but choose to be safe in doing of it; and therefore wish you to consult proper judges on the occasion.

My Letter to Lord Fairfax is under a flying Seal for your perusal. before you send it to him, put Wafers under the Seal to close it.

I am sincerely and affectionately Yrs.

To MAJOR BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 17, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have your favr. of the 11th. inclosing a Letter from C——. When I desired an interview with him I did not

know his peculiar situation. I now see the danger that so long an absence would incur and I must leave it intirely to you to manage the correspondence in such a manner as will most probably ensure safety to him and answer the desired end. I am &ca.[57]

*To LORD FAIRFAX

Camp at Middle brook, State of New Jersey,
December 17, 1778.

My lord: I have just been informed that Mr. Tomison Ellzey has, under the idea of waste land, entered in your Lordships Office part of my purchase of Simon Pearson or William Ashford, lying in Fairfax County and on or near Dogue run. These Lands are included within ancient marked bounds by which I purchased, and have regularly, and I trust satisfactorily, paid your Lordship the quit rent these fifteen or twenty years.

I am perswaded I need do nothing more than to bring your Lordship acquainted with these facts to stay the iniquitous and I may add dirty and sneaking proceedings of Mr. Ellzey. I therefore beg that this letter may be received and considered as a caveat to the issuing of a Patent to that person for any land adjoining those of mine abovementioned till I can be heard; when, if I do not make it appear that I neither hold, nor claim, lands that have not been paid for in the transfer and regularly to your Lordship by quit rent ever since, I will agree, not only to lose them, but forfeit my whole Estate also.

Your Lordship must be sensible that at this distance, seperated from my Papers, and engaged in the important duties of my command, that it is not in my power to go into an investigation of this matter at present and I repose too much confidence in your known justice to harbour a moments doubt that

[57] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

my local situation and confinement to the Army, will operate to my disadvantage in your Office tho it may have had no small weight in the conduct of Mr. Ellzey; whose hopes, I am perswaded, were built upon my absence.

With Sentiments of the most perfect respect, and best compliments to Colo. Martin,[58] I have the honor etc.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 17, 1778.

Sir: To prevent as far as possible the intercourse between the inhabitants of these States and the enemy in New York, I have given positive orders to Genl. Maxwell, who commands at Elizabeth Town, to permit no persons being inhabitants of or coming from any of the States to pass to Staten Island or New York without permission has been first obtained from their respective Governors or legislative Authorities. This will relieve the commanding Officer from the difficulty which he must otherwise be under of discriminating between ill designing persons and those who are proper to be intrusted within the Enemy's lines. But as too frequent passage of Flag Boats is attended with many inconveniences, I could wish, that as many as possible, of those who obtain leave, might be sent at one time. For instance, if it shall be determined that Boats will only be permitted to pass the first of every Month (except in extraordinary cases) they may suit their business to that time and attend accordingly. If you approve of the above plan be pleased to signify your concurrence, and I will give orders to Genl. Maxwell to carry it into execution. I am the more desirous of falling upon some such mode as the foregoing, as,

[58] Denny Martin, brother of Thomas Bryan Martin. He later assumed the name of Fairfax by act of Parliament. He was a nephew of the sixth Lord Fairfax.

when I was lately at Elizabeth Town, I found the intercourse so common that it alarmed and gave umbrage to the well affected in that neighbourhood. I have the honor etc.[59]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Middle brook December 17, 1778.

Sir: I have to acknowledge your favor of the 23rd. Ulto.

General Heath by a letter towards the beginning of last month informed that there were some sick officers and men of the Convention troops, and some officers having families, who could not proceed with the other troops to Charlotte's Ville by a land march; and their going by sea was proposed. I did not think myself authorised to decide in the matter, and therefore referred it to Congress, who have been pleased to direct me to act upon the occasion, as I might judge best. I shall have no objection to your giving permission to the officers and men under the above description, with their attendants to go by sea to the falls of James River, if it should be their choice, as it will be a less fatiguing and a far more expeditious mode of conveyance. From thence they can proceed to the place assigned for their general quarters, without any great difficulty. If they deem a water conveyance eligible, I must request you to obtain an exact return of the officers and men, and the paroles of the former, that the whole will perform the voyage and go to Charlotte's Ville. You will also be pleased to give the necessary passports for the vessel or vessels they may employ for the purpose. I have detained this answer for some days in expectation that a meeting of Commissioners on our part, and on the part of Sir Henry Clinton to settle an exchange of the Convention

[59] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. This same letter was sent to President Joseph Reed, of Pennsylvania.

prisoners would have precluded the necessity of their voyage. But they have broke up without being able to negociate the exchange. I am &ca.[60] [N. Y. H. S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Quarters, Middle brook, December 17, 1778.

Sir: I inclose you the copies of two letters for your consideration. The one my letter to Mr. Wadsworth on the quantity of provision which he may be able by his utmost exertions to lay in at Albany, and on Connecticut river from No. 4 (or fort Charles) up to the lower Co'os inclusively by the first day of February next; and whether he could keep a large army to the Northward regularly supplied? In his answer you will observe that a principal objection to our supplies being certain is the precariousness of carriage.

Under the idea that the adequate proportion of flour may be obtained for such an army as is supposed in my letter, you will determine, whether it is in your power to give it a certain and uniform transportation. I shall expect your answer, and am Sir. Your &ca.

P. S. The above letter and its inclosures will serve to afford a more comprehensive view of the subject which I have already mentioned to you.[61]

To COLONEL ELISHA SHELDON

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 17, 1778.

Sir: I am glad to find by yours of the 8th. that your Regiment is like to be so well accommodated at Durham. I have

[60] In the writing of James McHenry. This letter was first drafted (December 4) by Robert Hanson Harrison, and the last paragraph informed of the intended meeting of the exchange commissioners. When redrafted, as above (December 17), the last paragraph was changed.

[61] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

never had any representation against its being quartered near that place, neither can I conceive why you can interfere with the provision of Beef for the Army more there than any where else in the State.

Should Congress see a probability that the operations of the next Campaign will require an augmentation of the Cavalry I make no doubt but they will give proper orders to have it done in time; but the prospect of a scarcity of forage is so alarming and the price of Horses so excessive, that I am of opinion they will incline rather to decrease than augment the Cavalry.

I have given Mr. Hoogland a letter to the Board of War, and he is gone to Philadelphia to procure such Articles for your Regt. as can be furnished there. I imagine the Uniforms will be ordered from Boston. I am &ca.[62]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL EBENEZER STEVENS

Head Quarters, December 17, 1778.

Sir: I have the pleasure to transmit you the inclosed Commission and the copy of a Resolution of Congress that accompanied it. I received the Letter which inclosed the Commission on my way from Fredericksburgh; but being separated from my papers just after it came to hand, and not getting the Letter again till a day or two ago, I have been prevented from sending the Commission till now.

In consequence of your Commission and the Resolution of Congress, you are to join Colonel Lamb's Regiment and fill the vacancy, occasioned by the Resignation of Lieutt. Colo. Oswald.[63] I am etc.[64] [N.Y.H.S.]

[62] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[63] On December 18 Washington wrote to Knox that Congress had commissioned Stevens "in the room of Lt Colo. Oswald resigned . . . you will be pleased to . . . give the necessary orders on your part." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[64] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Camp Middle Brook,
Thursday, December 17, 1778.

Parole Vandalia. Countersigns Wales, Yarmouth.

All the Artillery attached to the Brigades in this Camp are as soon as the weather will permit to join the Park at Pluckimin.

The Commissary of hides is hereafter carefully to deposit all the horns of the Cattle killed for the Army with the Commissary of Military Stores, who is hereby directed to have them converted into Powder horns for the use of the troops as fast as they are delivered him. The strictest attention to the execution of this order is expected.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Camp Middle Brook,
Friday, December 18, 1778.

Parole Alcebiades. Countersigns Bangor, Cyrus.

The honorable the Congress have been pleased to pass the following resolutions:

November 24, 1778.

Congress took into consideration the report of the committee of arrangement and thereupon came to the following resolution:

Whereas the settlement of rank in the army of the United States has been attended with much difficulty and delay, inasmuch as no general principles have been adopted and uniformly pursued:

Resolved therefore, That upon any dispute of rank the following rules shall be hereafter observed:

1. For determining rank in the continental line between all colonels and inferior officers of different states, between like officers of infantry and those of horse and artillery, appointed under the authority of Congress, by virtue of a resolve of the 16 September, 1776, or by virtue of any

subsequent resolution prior to the 1 January, 1777; all such officers shall be deemed to have their commissions dated on the day last mentioned and their relative rank with respect to each other, in the continental line of the army shall be determined by their rank prior to the 16 day of September, 1776. This rule shall not be considered to affect the rank of the line within any State or within the corps of artillery, horse, or among the sixteen additional battalions, where the rank hath been settled; but shall be the rule to determine the relative rank within the particular line of artillery so far as the rank remains unsettled.

2. In the second instance preference shall be given to commissions in the new levies and flying camp.

3. In determining rank between continental officers, in other respects equal, proper respect shall be had to their commissions in the militia, where they have served in the continental army for the space of one month.

4. All colonels and inferior officers appointed to vacancies since the 5th day of January 1777, shall take rank from the right of succession to such vacancies.

5. In all cases where the rank between two officers of different states is equal, between an officer of state troops and one of cavalry, artillery, or of the additional battalions, the precedence is to be determined by lot.

6. All officers who have been prisoners with the enemy, being appointed by their State, and again enter into the service, shall do it agreeably to the above rule, that is to say: All of the rank of captain, and under, shall enter into the same regiment to which they formerly belonged; and if the Regiment is dissolved or otherwise reduced, they shall be intitled to the first vacancy in any regiment of the State in their proper rank, after the officers belonging to such regiment have been provided for.

7. The rules of rank above laid down between officers of different states, are to govern between officers of the same State, except in cases where the State may have laid down a different rule or already settled their rank.

8. A resignation shall preclude any claim of benefit from former rank and under a new appointment.

Whereas from the alteration of the establishment and other causes, many valuable Officers have [been] and may be omitted in the new arrangement, as being supernumerary, who, from their conduct and

services, are entitled to the honourable notice of Congress, and to a suitable provision until they can return to civil life with advantage:

Resolved therefore, that Congress gratefully acknowledge the faithful services of such officers, and that all supernumerary officers be entitled to one year's pay of their commissions respectively, to be computed from the time such officers had leave of absence from the Commander in Chief on this account. And Congress do earnestly recommend to the several states to which such officers belong, to make such farther provision for them as their respective circumstances and merits entitle them to.

Whereas it will be for the benefit of the service that some rule for promotions be established: therefore, Resolved, That it be recommended to the several states to provide, that in all future promotions Officers rise regimentally to the rank of captain, and thence in the line of the state to the rank of colonel, except in cases where a preference may be given on account of distinguished merit.

Resolved, That all officers who have been in the service, and having been prisoners with the enemy, now are or hereafter may be exchanged or otherwise released, shall, if appointed by the authority of the State, be intitled, in case of vacancy, to enter into the service of their respective State in such rank as they would have had if they had never been captured; provided always, that every such officer do, within one month after his exchange or release, signify to the authority of the State to which he belongs, his release and his desire to enter again into the military service: That every officer so released, and giving notice as aforesaid, shall, until entry into actual service, be allowed half pay of the commission to which by the foregoing resolve he stands entitled; provided always, that in case of his receiving any civil office of profit, such half pay shall thenceforth cease.

Resolved, That no brevets be for the future granted, except to officers in the line or in case of very eminent services.

Resolved, That pay masters, not being of the rank of captains, quarter masters and adjutants, be entitled to receive 20 dollars per month subsistence money in lieu of rations.

Resolved, That all officers and persons employed on the staff shall receive for subsistence money, one-third of a dollar for each extra ration heretofore allowed them.

Resolved, That adjutants, pay masters and quarter masters, taken from the line, be again admitted into the rank they would have been entitled

to, had they continued in the line: and such adjutants, pay masters and quarter masters, not taken from the line, may be admissible into the line, in such subaltern ranks as, by a signed certificate from the field officers of their respective corps, they shall be deemed competent to.[65]

December 10, 1778.

Resolved, That the 12 months' pay allowed to supernumerary officers of the army, by a resolution of Congress the 24 November last, be made up in the pay rolls of the regimental pay masters, and drawn from them by the said officers respectively.

To HENRY LAURENS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 18, 1778.

My dear sir: I received your Official Letter of the 8th. Instant, advising that your relinquishment of the presidency would soon take place, which I see has happened; and assuring me of the respect and esteem you should always retain for me.

Permit me in turn, Sir, to assure you in the language of the most unfeigned sincerity, that I hold myself under great obligations for the very polite and satisfactory manner, in which you conducted the Official intercourse that has subsisted between us; and for the flattering marks of confidence and friendship, with which you honoured me in a private capacity. These considerations, and the most perfect conviction of your unwearied assiduity to promote the interest of America, in every instance in your power, have attached me to you, by the ties of the truest respect and affection; and, wherever you may be, and in whatever situation, I shall ever wish you happy, and shall set a high value upon your friendship and correspondence. I have the Honor etc.[66]

[65] These resolves do not here follow the exact order in which they are entered in the *Journals of the Continental Congress*. The word in brackets is in the resolve as copied in the orders.

[66] The letter sent was entirely in the writing of Washington and was sold at auction in 1933. The above text is from the copy by Robert Hanson Harrison in the *Washington Papers*.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS[67]

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 18, 1778.

Sir: On Wednesday I had the Honor to receive your Excellency's Letter of the 12th. Instant, with the Inclosures. I very sincerely congratulate you, Sir, on the Honorable and important station you are chosen to fill. The opinion I entertain of your public character concurs with every personal consideration to make the choice pleasing to me. At the same time, that my warmest acknowledgements are due for the sentiments you express towards me, and the polite assurances you are pleased to give; I beg you to believe that I shall, by inclination, embrace every opportunity of giving proofs of that respect and esteem; which I have ever been happy to pay to your worthy predecessors in Office. I have the Honor etc.[68]

To BENJAMIN HARRISON

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 18, 1778.

Sir: I had the Honor to receive Your Letter enclosing a Copy of the Resolution of the House of Delegates on the 23d Ulto.,[69] for presenting me with four Geldings. I assure You, Sir, I am sensibly affected by this pleasing mark of public esteem; and the flattering consideration on which the Assembly are pleased

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[67] John Jay, of New York.

On this same day (December 18) Washington acknowledged Secretary Charles Thomson's notification of the election of Jay as President of Congress. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[68] The copy is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[69] "In the House of Delegates. Monday the 23rd of November 1778. Resolved, nemine contradicente that four of the finest Geldings that can be procured be immediately bought and sent to his excellency General Washington as a small Testimony of the gratitude of this State for the many signal services he has rendered America. . . . Teste E. Randolph c. h. d."

General Nelson was requested to purchase the horses and send them to Washington; the treasurer to pay his drafts.

This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

to found it, gives it a value, to which my feelings only can do justice. My warmest acknowledgements are due for the favor, and these I take the liberty to request you will offer to the House, on the first proper occasion. I have the Honor to be, etc.[70]

*To LUND WASHINGTON

Head Quarters, Middle brook, December 18, 1778.

Dear Lund: Your Letter of the 9th. Instant came to my hands this day after I had dispatched a long letter to you by Colo. Harrison;[71] the qty. of land mentioned therein, as appears by my Plats, is, I dare say, the exact number of Acres held by Marshall,[72] for more than which he ought not to expect payment. The three Small quantities which serve to compose the agregate 480½ are (I presume) those which lye on muddy hole; the North side of the main road joining Wade's and my line; and on the South, joining Manley[73] and me. This, as it is by actual and careful measurement, and intended for my own satisfaction and government, does I am perswaded, contain to the utmost inch all that he holds, and I chearfully acquiesce to it as just. But at all events fix the matter with him by a resurvey, or any other way to close the bargain; telling him now however, that if it is resurveyed, and the Surveyor makes it less than 480½ I shall pay for no more than is fd. by the last Survey (if it should even fall short of 400 Acres) and unless you have conditioned to the contrary, I shall expect, as

[70] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent, stated to be in the writing of Washington, is in the Buffalo Historical Society. It was addressed to Benjamin Harrison, as Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates, and inclosed in Washngton's letter to Harrison, Dec. 18–30, 1778, *p. v.*

[71] Col. Charles Harrison, of the First Continental Artillery. (See Washington's letter to Lund Washington, Dec. 17, 1778, *ante.*)

[72] Thomas H. Marshall. (See Washington's letters to Col. Thomas H. Marshall, Mar. 9 and Mar. 17, 1778, *ante.*)

[73] Harrison Manley.

the Survey will be made to gratifie him, that it will be done at his expence, and by the Surveyor of the County, or at least a Sworn Surveyor. You will see that the Chain is full 33 feet in length.

With respect to the small slipes which he engaged to let me have, the matter taken up in a strict sense, may be determined in a moment, by only solving a single question, to wit. did he, or did he not, agree to take 40/ an acre for the Land in the event of not getting Allexrs? If he did not the matter is at an end, because there is not in that case room for even the Shadow of argument. If he did, where is the hardship of it? or in other words, why is it a *greater* hardship to receive money (short of one's wishes) for lands sold, than for any other thing. The money which General Weedon wants to pay you is due for Lands I sold Doctor Mercer[74] and for the very purpose of enabling me to pay for this and other Lands in that Neck, as oppertunities might present; what difference then is there in the cases, more than in the Sum? and a case still more in point, is, that the very money advanced Alexander was in fact for the payment of this land of Marshall's. it is not harder then upon him to receive a part than for me to receive the whole. Such local disadvantages as these, are to be placed to the misfortunes of the times; some men indeed are benefited by them while others are ruined. I do not it is true come in under the latter class (so far as extends to ruin) but I believe you know, that by the comparative worth of money, Six or Seven thousand pounds which I have in Bonds upon Interest is now reduced to as many hundreds because I can get no more for a thousand at this day than a hundred would have fetched when I left Virginia Bonds, debts, Rents, and annuities undergoing no

[74] Dr. Hugh(?) Mercer.

change while the currency is depreciating in value and for aught I know may in a little time, be totally sunk. I do not labour this point because I expect much from it, but simply to shew Mr. Marshall the light in which he should consider the matter if he has a mind to act upon such principles as ought to actuate every honest man and to shew him moreover the falacy and error of his arguments when he endeavours to prove that I have deriv'd benefits from his Ld. which he has not experienced from Alexander; the falacy of it, because if I have taken the timber of, it is not there, consequently the land now, is of so much less value. The error of it, inasmuch as I am exceedingly mistaken if he has not inclosed and worked part of Alexanders Land, which (now I am upon the subject) is a matter that you ought to enquire into, as I have some recollection of Alexander's telling me, that he had not only put Marshall in possession of the whole, or such part of the Land as he wanted but that the Rents wch. usually came to him ceased; intimating, that the bargain between him, me, and Marshall was so far compleated, as that he no longer recd. the Rents or all of them nor was I to expect Interest for the Money lent him. If therefore I am to pay Marshall for his whole land, at the price now agreed at by the Acre, and to receive no Interest from Alexander, I shall be very prettily handled between the two.[75] This circumstance is mentioned for your Government; at the same time I leave you at full liberty to close the Bargain with Marshall on any terms (if obliged to allow as much for the Slipes as other parts of his Land and even to come up to 500 acres for the qty.; as I neither wish to disappoint you, nor myself, in our present views. you will do the best you can to have justice done me; their impositions afterwards I must submit to as a tax to dishonourable Men.

[75] Washington wrote "Gentn.," but then crossed it out somewhat heavily.

Among those plats which contained the quantity of Marshalls Land, you will also find one which shews the contents of those Tracts I bought of the two Ashfords[76] and Simon Pearson, which with so much of the waste land (taken up by me) as lyes above the tumbling Dam, shews (after taking of what Mr. Triplet[77] is to get) the amount of what you are to have of me, and how far it will fall short of the purchase from Marshall, thereby enabling you to make a proper Settlement. If you find more than one Plat of these Lands (as I think there is) the last is the truest, and most correct.

It is not reasonable that Mr. Triplet should remain longer out of the land which he is to get in exchange, for his by my Mill race, as there is no prospect of my seeing home this Winter; and yet I am really at a loss to find out how it can be done without my being present, as no person knows the true and complex state of that matter as well as I do. Nevertheless if he desires it, I will give you the best directions I can in order that that possession may be given him this Winter; the way that I always expected and wished to have it done, was to extend a line from the bridge, at the head of the race by the Tumbling Dam, to the little branch which you cross in going onward to Morris's, at the road leading thither; thence by a direct line to the Main road, as (if my memory serves me) my fence runs; this, if the fence is removed in, as I think it was Six or Seven years ago, will give as many Acres as I shall get between the race and the line of my New Patent; but if it should not, then to pay for the difference at whatever the land would sell for at the time of ascertaining the several quantities we give and take even if it should be at £50 an Acre. If Mr. Triplet will agree to this, the matter, so far as respects the land and the use of it to

[76] George and William Ashford.
[77] William Triplett.

both of us, may be settled at any time; and a sum may also be deposited in his hands to be adjusted hereafter; which will prevent his suffering any delay or injustice on acct. of the money he is to receive. or if this will not do, from his apprehensions that he shall give more land than he will get (in which I think he will be mistaken, if I am not wrong in my ideas respecting the removal of my Fence, which was done to this very view) I would, in order to satisfie him, and bring the matter as far as possible to a close and without further delay let the line from the branch at the road (leading from the Tumbling dam to the Plantation as mentioned before) bare a little more to the right to include a little more land. A Measure of this kind must remove every difficulty and will certainly give content; the legal fees of the County Surveyor in ascertaining this work, would amount to the value of both pieces of land; for not knowing, or not depending upon the circumstances, or with a view perhaps to increase his fees, he would Survey Harrisons Patent (on which Mr. Triplet lives) Pearsons (the Patentee of which I do not now recollect); My land taken up as waste, and part perhaps of that I bought of Geo. Ashford, all of which may be avoided by the mode I speak of, and the disadvantage resulting from the want of a final Settlement thrown upon me, by giving him more land, and more money, than he will be entitled to upon a fair and impartial measurement of the exchanged tracts. If you and Mr. Triplet should agree without any thing, have a Stone, or a locust Post fixed at the road for the Corner.

With respect to your bargain with Lanphire[78] I can say nothing. I wish every contract that I make, or that is made for me, should be fulfilled according to the strict and equitable meaning of the Parties, and this in the present case you must be a better judge than I. If at the time of engaging him the extra

[78] Going Lanphire.

allowance of Corn &ca. more was expected and promised than has been performed you are certainly under no obligation to comply with your part till he has fulfilled his; if on the other hand he has fulfilled his you are bound to comply altho it may prove hard. but from your state of the case, the true and equitable construction of the bargain seems to me to be, that he ought to have the Corn and Wool, but should be obliged to continue his and Servants labor at their present Wages, till the covered ways and such work as was particularized or had in contemplation at the time is finished; without this his Wages will be monstrous the end not answered and what neither of you at the time could possibly have in view. I therefore think that this is the proper footing to place it on, and, tho' slow, he had better be kept on those terms till you can at least bring his wages within the bounds of moderation by time if he should not quite compleat the work expected of him. The Corn (which I am told Qr. Master Finie[79] is now giving Six pounds pr. Barrl. for) should be delivered by little at a time, for if he gets the whole at once you may I suppose, catch him as you can.

I come now to mention a matter which more particularly respects yourself. The depreciation of Money, and the sudden rise in the price of produce in the course of this year and other things principally to this cause owing renders your present wages especially under short Crops, totally inadequate to your trouble and Services. I am therefore willing that you should receive a certain part of the last Crop, to be disposed of by you for your own benefit and so in future; this will give you the reward of your Industry without subjecting you to the peculiar hardship resulting from depreciation as it is presumable that the price of produce will rise in proportion to the fall of the

[79] William Finnie, Deputy Quartermaster General.

other. I do not at this time ascertain what the part shall be, because I wish you to say what you think is just and right; this it is my full wish to give and more I do not think you would ask therefore we cannot disagree. Being little acquainted with the produce of my Estate, amount of Crops &ca. is the reason of my wishing to leave the matter to yourself as it is my first wish that you should be satisfied.

Mrs. Archer has got the letter you inclosed, and I have only to add that I am sincerely and affectionately Yrs.

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 18, 1778.

Dear Sir: I beg you will accept my thanks for your obliging letter of the 30th. Ulto. and the polite expressions of your friendship which accompany it. At the same time, I am happy to congratulate you on your honorable acquittal with the approbation of Congress.[80]

The information and remarks you have favoured me with are very full and satisfactory;[81] and I must request as you are good enough to promise, that you will continue your reflections and inquiries on the subject, and communicate, from time to time, the result.

The difference of circumstances, which you have enumerated, between the time of General Amhersts operations and the present, is certainly very striking and the difficulties, of an expedition into Canada by the route he took as things are now situated, great and many. The more however I consider the subject and examine into the state of our resources, the more I am convinced that if an expedition is carried into that country,

[80] Schuyler's acquittal with honor by the court martial was confirmed by Congress Dec. 3, 1778. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress.*)

[81] Schuyler's letter of November 30 is in the *Washington Papers.* It is a 16-page folio discussion of the proposed Canadian expedition.

in the course of the next Campaign, it must of necessity be done through that channel. The advantages of penetrating by Lake Champlain, make the practicability of doing it infinitely desirable; but upon the whole, I still am of opinion, that the prospect of effecting it is too small and precarious to warrant the attempt. I could hardly rely upon the success of any expedient that might be adopted to gain the superiority of the Lake in the Summer; and I have greater reason than when I had the pleasure of writing you the 20th. Ulto., to believe, that an undertaking for that purpose this Winter is intirely out of our power. My earnest desire for a Winter expedition has led me closely to investigate our means of prosecuting it, and I find after the fullest examination, from the concurrent and definitive reports of the Quarter Master and Commissary General, that our resources are unequal to the preparations necessary for such an enterprise.

How far it will be in our power to extend our operations into Canada the next campaign must depend on a variety of events which cannot now be foreseen with certainty. It is to be lamented too, that our prospects are not so favourable as we could wish. But I agree with you in the importance of reducing Niagara at least if practicable; and I think it prudent to be taking preparatory measures, to enable us to attempt this and as much more, as the future situation of our affairs and resources may permit. I am the more induced to this, as the emancipation of Canada is an object, which Congress have much at heart.

Conformable to this principle I have directed the Commissary General to lay in as large magazines of flour and salt provisions &ca. at Albany and any other places which may be thought proper, as he possibly can; and in like manner I have instructed the Quarter Master General to provide all the materials requisite for building vessels, together with forage and

every other article, which comes under the direction of his department. A copy of my instructions to him is inclosed.

You will perceive I have referred the Quarter Master General to you for advice and directions in making his arrangements. I have done the same with respect to the Commissary. Every consideration induces me to wish and request your assistance in this business. No person I know has it more in his power to judge of the measures proper to be taken; and I am persuaded you will readily afford your aid in a matter of so great importance, as far as may be consistent with the situation of your public and personal concerns.

In forming the magazines, I wish regard to be had as far as the primary intention will permit, to an easy transfer and appropriation of them to the use of the army in this quarter; lest our operations to the Northward should be disappointed, and the scene of action still continue in our present front. As a large supply of hard bread will be essential, you will please among other things to direct the Commissary, to provide such a quantity of this article as you deem sufficient. The most speedy and complete repair possible of the arms in the hands of Mr. Rensselaer,[82] will require immediate attention.

Though we cannot now determine what will be the extent of our Northern plan, nor consequently, what number of troops will really be employed; yet as it is necessary to fix some precise idea on this point, by which to regulate our preparations, you will adapt them to an army of at least ten thousand *effective* rank and file, with a proportion of Artillerymen, attendants and retainers of every kind, according to the nature of the expedition.

On account of the difficulty you suggest on transporting the vessels from the place mentioned in my last, my present

[82] Philip Van Rensselaer, commissary of military stores at Albany, N. Y.

intention is to have the iron work, rigging, sails &c., prepared at Albany, and the Vessels built at Oswego, agreeable to the plan you propose [unless upon a more full considrn. of the matter you shall think the former plan] of building on Hudsons River [can be executed in the whole or part with more ease than at first view.]

It will be of the greatest moment however to employ every artifice to cover the real design, and beget false expectations in the enemy. I leave this to your management.

You will observe by my instructions to the Qr. Mr. Gl. that I have not absolutely decided on the kind of Vessels to be constructed. I wish first to take the opinions of some persons of experience in maritime affairs before I finally determine. With respect to the batteauxs, I leave the construction of them wholly to your judgment, and every direction accordingly.

I shall be under a particular obligation for the journals you mention, if you are fortunate enough to find them.[83]

Before I conclude, there is one or two things in particular, which I must beg you will endeavour to ascertain. Whether, there is not another River below la famine which empties into the St. Lawrence, and what kind of a River it is? I have an idea of one which enters as low as Oswegatchie. Also where the enemy's vessels on Lake Ontario are stationed during the Winter, and how they are defended and secured in the frozen state of the Lake.

[83]A journal, or journals, of Capt. John Montresor and Lieutenant Pauli(?), of the Royal Americans, who traveled to Niagara by way of Presque Isle in 1764; also an account of the inhabitants of Detroit and the strength of the Indians in that quarter in 1764. There has now been placed in the *Washington Papers,* with Schuyler's letter of Dec. 27, 1778, a copy of the "Route from Niagara or Discharge of Lake Erie to the Embouchere of the River of Detroit," giving distances by French leagues, the "Places of safety for all the Boats," the "Number of Indian Warriors that could collect themselves in six or eight days at Detroit," and miscellaneous information of the locations of groups of Indian cabins. The paper is indorsed by Richard Varick "Copy to Montresor's Route." Schuyler did not succeed in finding the Montresor journal.

It is not unlikely, I may be at Albany in the Month of January. This in the mean time I mean only to be known to you; but I must insist, that you will not suffer it to make the least alteration in your private plans. I am etc.[84]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL HENRY MILLER[85]

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 18, 1778.

Sir: I have your letter of the 21st. Ultimo, now before me.

A good Officer cannot feel more real concern, to find that his domestic affairs, and the circumstances of his family, make it necessary for him to leave the army, than I do myself in losing his services.

I always part reluctantly with the officer, who like you, has been early in the cause, and borne his share of military danger and fatigue; and I cannot help wishing that a continuance in the army could in any wise be made compatible with your domestic duties. But should you find this impossible, I suppose I need not tell you that it is customary, in all cases of resignation, to have a certificate that there is no public or regimental account unsettled. You will be pleased to communicate such a certificate in case you take a conclusive determination to resign. I am etc.[86]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 19, 1778.

Dear Sir: I am honored with Your Excellency's favour of the 12th instant; including the copies of two letters relative to the disposition of the troops on the East side of the North

[84] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

[85] Of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment.

[86] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

River, and the quartering of Colo. Sheldon's regiment of dragoons.

There is nothing I have more at heart than the ease and security of every part of the Country and its inhabitants; and I wish Your Excellency to believe, that in the present distribution of the army, I have consulted these objects, to the best of my judgment, as far as could be done, consistent with a due attention to other objects too essential to be neglected. You are sensible, sir, that in military operations, there are many partial evils which must be submitted to, to attain the principal end to which they are directed. However desirable the protection of those parts of the country most contiguous to the enemy, and the convenience of the inhabitants, in general; these are sometimes obliged to give place to other considerations of greater magnitude. The present disposition of the troops, after a full consideration of every circumstance, has been thought best calculated to unite the greatest number of advantages, with the fewest disadvantages. To enter into a detail of the reasons on which it has been formed, would be giving your Excellency unnecessary trouble. I shall only therefore observe, that the easy subsistence and accommodation of the troops; their discipline and security, and the facility of collecting them to the principal points of defence, which require they should be as little dispersed as possible, and the protection and convenience of the country and the inhabitants, have all been endeavoured to be provided for, as far as they could be reconciled to each other and to the general situation of our affairs at this period.

The great desire I feel to comply with your Excellency's wishes on every occasion, makes it painful to me, that, in the present case I do not think it would be advancive of the service to make these changes in the disposition of the troops, which

your transmitting the letter from Cols. Enos and Meade seems to indicate would be agreeable to you. I should not be without apprehensions for the safety of the Brigades themselves, stationed where they propose. The detaching one so far from the Highland posts would lessen the security of those important places, an unequal portion of duty would be thrown upon the advanced Brigades, and the discipline of the whole would be injured by adding to the dispersion. The directions I have given to Generals Putnam and McDougall to keep a succession of parties constantly advanced towards the enemy's lines, from the Sound to the North River, without being liable to the same disadvantages will pretty effectually answer the same end. If this has not yet been done, it is I suppose to be ascribed to the troops having been hitherto employed in covering themselves for the Winter.

With respect to the proposal for dividing Colo. Sheldon's regiment and sending a part of it to Wallingford or Middleton; this arrangement would interfere with a general principle, essential to order and discipline, to which I have strictly adhered, the keeping every corps in a collected state. It has been with great reluctance that I have even separated the different regiments of cavalry from each other; but the impossibility of subsisting and accommodating them in one body, puts me under the necessity of making a division of this kind. To carry it further would be ruinous to this useful part of the army. And I do not apprehend that the regiment in question could be removed to any other place where it could be equally well provided, in a collective state with forage and quarters, without being attended with the same inconveniences, as at Durham. This place was pointed out as the most commodious, by the Quarter Master General, in his arrangements for cantonning the army: and as I have received a very favourable account of the situation of the regiment in point of

accommodation, from Col Sheldon himself, this is an additional motive to wish its continuance where it is.

With the most perfect respect and esteem etc.[87]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILLIAM LEE DAVIDSON[88]

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 19, 1778.

Sir: You are to leave a Captain, two Subs and fifty Men of the detachment of Colo. Hogan's[89] Regt. at Trenton and proceed with the remainder to Philadelphia, upon your arrival at which place you are to make report to General Arnold or commanding Officer and take your directions from him. You are to leave word at Trenton for Colo. Hogan to follow with the remainder of the Regt. (except the Captain and fifty who are to guard the Stores at Trenton) to Philada. He is to take with him as many of his sick and Convalescents as possible; those that cannot proceed beyond Trenton must be left either there or at Princetown, with directions to join the Regt. as they recover. Colo. Hogan is also upon his arrival at Philada. to take his orders from Genl. Arnold or commanding Officer. Be pleased to leave a Copy of this letter for him at Trenton. I am etc.[90]

To BARON STEUBEN

December 19, 1778.

Sir: I had the honor of receiving a few days since your letter of the 6th. instant; I am much obliged to you for the polite assurances you give; and in my turn, I beg you will beleive, that when the institution,[91] at the head of which you have been

[87] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[88] Of the Third North Carolina Regiment.
[89] Col. James Hogun.
[90] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[91] Inspector General's Department.

placed, can once be established upon a footing mutually agreeable to you and to the army, to which end all the measures I have taken in it have been directed, I shall be happy to give you every support in my power to facilitate your operations. In doing this I shall equally consult the personal consideration I have for you, and the improvement and benefit of the army, which I am persuaded will be greatly promoted by a full exertion of the same talents, experience and activity, of which you have already given the most satisfactory proofs. I am etc.[92]

To MAJOR LEMUEL TRESCOTT[93]

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 19, 1778.

Sir: I am favd. with yours of the 4th. informing me of the date of Major Curtis's[94] resignation agreeable to which I inclose you a Commn. for the Majority of the Regt. from the 20th. May last.

I recd. a letter from the Board of War in Sept. respecting those men of your Regt. who were confined at Easton. I recommended it to them to employ them upon the Works in Delaware rather than let them rejoin the Army as they had shewn so great an inclination to desert to the Enemy. I have not heard since what they did in the matter but will make enquiry. I am &c.[95]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 20, 1778.

Sir: I have the honor of yours of the 16th instant. I have directed that only a Captn. and 50 Men of Colo. Hogans may be left at Trenton, that you may have as great a number as

[92] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.
[93] Of Henley's Additional Continental regiment.
[94] Maj. William Curtis. His resignation took place May 20, 1778.
[95] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

possible in Philada. I wish it were in my power to comply fully with your request for Troops, but I have had so many demands upon me from quarters exposed to the Enemy, all of which I have been obliged in some measure to comply with, that I cannot possibly spare any more, without leaving this cantonment in so weak a state as to be liable to an insult during the Winter.

From the dispersed situation of the Army a considerable time would elapse before the Adjutant General could collect the Returns which you call for. I am happy in having it in my power to furnish you with one immediately which I think will answer your purpose; it includes every man (a few Corps excepted who were at a distance) whose time of service will expire by the last of May 1779. The remainder of the Army are engaged some to the latter end of the next Campaign, some for further limited times, and a few, comparitively speaking, during the War. The State of Virginia having offered very great Bounties to such of her old Soldiers and levies who will inlist during the War, perhaps five or six hundred of those men included in the return now sent you may be reingaged; but when we take into account the diminution of an army by natural means, we may still calculate upon a decrease, equal to the total amount of the Return, by the month of May next.

I have recd. a letter of the 11th. inst. from the Secy. of the Board inclosing a Resolve of Congress respecting the pay of the supernumerary Officers, which has been inserted in General Orders for the information of the concerned.

Govn. Reed has informed me of the reasons of the delays and difficulties in procuring the Militia of Pennsylvania to guard the Convention Troops. It will be very distressing upon those continental troops who have been under the necessity of going forward, as they will have their Huts to build after they return, which will bring them to the midst of Winter.

In a letter to the Board of the 14th Sepr. last I advised the employing twenty six Men belonging to Colo. Henleys Regt. then in Easton Goal, upon some of the public Works, rather than let them join their Regt. as they had shewn an inclination to desert to the Enemy. Be pleased to inform me whether they were disposed of in any manner or whether they are still at Easton, as the commanding Officer of the Regt. has lately desired to know whether they are still to be considered as belonging to him or to be struck off the Rolls. I have the honor etc.[96]

To MAJOR THOMAS POSEY[97]

Middle Brook, December 20, 1778.

Sir: Your presence with the Regt. to which you belong is now necessary, you will therefore on the receipt of this repair here. I have written to the commanding Officer at Albany, if he thinks the corps you command can be spared to order the Troops that compose it to join their respective Regts. of this you will be informed, but you will lose no time in coming yourself. I am &ca.[98]

[96] The draft, in the writing of Tench Tilghman, is addressed to Richard Peters as secretary of the Board of War.

In an inconsequential note to Israel Putnam, on this same day (December 20), Washington directed that "If there are any public Magazines of provisions or Stores upon the sound I highly approve of your removing them inland and forbidding the Quarter Masters and Commissaries to collect any there (I mean to remain any length of time) in future." This note is in the *Washington Papers*.

[97] Of the Seventh Virginia Regiment. He was made lieutenant colonel in September, 1782; transferred to the First Virginia Regiment in January, 1783; retired in March, 1783; brigadier general, U. S. Army, February, 1793; resigned in February, 1794.

[98] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

Washington forwarded this letter to Posey, through Brig. Gen. James Clinton, in a short note of this same date (December 20) in which he expressed a desire to have the ranger corps, to which Posey had been detailed, disbanded, if its services could be dispensed with and the detachments composing it returned to their respective regiments, "but this is left for yourself to decide according to the occasion you may see for detaining it. I am however anxious it should take place." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 20, 1778.

Dear Sir: I have your two letters of the 2d and 7th Inst. now before me.

The order communicated by the Adjutant General to Col. Jackson was in consequence of my instructions. It is not however my desire to remove the band in case it has been procured [at the cost of] the officers, and is kept up at their private expence. This is a prerogative I could not think of assuming. But on the other hand, if it belongs to, and is supported by the public, [I shall adhere to my former order], you must [certainly] be of opinion with me that the necessity for such a thing is much greater here than it can be any where else. Under these circumstances, I could wish the matter to be considered; [especially when I add that I can make no distinction in Corps. A Band is no part of our establishmt., to endulge one Regiment therefore and refuse another (equal in pretensions) is setting up inviduous distinctions which cannot be productive of any good but may of much evil and ought to be avoided.]

I have been applied to lately by Colo. LeRadiere for the discharge of a certain de Marcere a private in Colo. Angels Regiment. De Marcere it appears inlisted in the service from necessity. Colo. LeRadiere claims him for a relation, and is much interested in his dismission. As the Col. is a foreigner and urges it under all these circumstances I have consented to his discharge. You will be pleased to give orders for this purpose, and should the soldier be indebted to the Regiment, you will see by the inclosed paper that Colonel Radiere takes it upon himself. You may transmit the account in your next letter should this be the case. I am &c.

P. S. The 30th. of this Month being prescribed by the honorable Congress as a day of thanksgiving,[99] you will be pleased to have the same observed in the army under your command.[1]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

[December 20, 1778.]

Sir: I was favored with your letter of yesterdays date this evening.

I have informed Governor Livingston, with as many of the circumstances of Hatfields[2] case, as have come within my knowledge, and directed Lord Stirling to furnish him with such as he has relating to this subject. You will be pleased, without further delay, to deliver both Hatfield and the vessel he was in, to the civil magistrate with all the information you are possessed of in the affair, and assist in making what further discoveries may be attainable.

I wish you would ascertain more fully and clearly the cause of the deficiencies in the several articles of clothing, as contained in your return. This may be done by a return of the number of Men in the different corps, and a return of the several articles drawn for each corps.

To prevent as much as possible that intercourse which has been so much complained of, you will refer the applications for flags from the Commissaries of prisoners to me that one general rule of conduct may be observed in all cases of flags. Mr. Mercerer,[3] D. C. Prisrs. has my permission to pass into N. Y.

[99] The proclamation of Congress was dated Nov. 17, 1778. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress* of the same date for the text.)

[1] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry. The parts in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

[2] John Smith Hatfield, loyalist, of Elizabethtown, N. J.

[3] Joshua Mercereau, Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners.

I have inclosed you full instructions for your observance, and am Sir Your &c.[4]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Camp Middle Brook,
Sunday, December 20, 1778.

Parole Grantham. Countersigns Howe, Ireland.

Captain Samuel King[5] of Colo. Marshall's Regiment is appointed Aid de Camp to The Baron De Kalb, *vice* Major Rogers[6] resigned.

The regimental Surgeons are reminded of the standing order to make returns of their sick every Monday to the principal surgeon of the Flying Hospital present and that no sick be sent from Camp to the General Hospital without his certificate.

The Director General of the Flying Hospital quarters [is] at Mr. Field's, Bound Brook.

To LORD STIRLING

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 21, 1778.

My Lord: I have directed General Maxwell to deliver up Hatfield to the Civil Authority and have informed Governor Livingston that you will furnish him with such proofs of his Guilt as have come to your Knowledge. be pleased therefore to forward such papers to him as you have at present in possession, or any new matter which you may hereafter obtain and which may serve to throw light upon the Affair. I am etc.[7]

[H. S. P.]

[4] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

[5] Of the Tenth Massachusetts Regiment. He served as aide to De Kalb until the latter was killed at Camden, S. C., in August, 1780. King himself was killed at Guilford Court House in March, 1781.

[6] Maj. Nicholas Rogers. He had served as aide to Du Coudray; was brevetted lieutenant colonel by Congress on Dec. 10, 1778; resigned the same day.

[7] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To LORD STIRLING

December 21, 1778.

Sir: Congress having been pleased to require my attendance at Philadelphia[8] for a few days, the immediate command of the troops at this place will devolve upon your Lordship.

The hutting the troops in the most speedy and commodious manner, and the preservation of order and discipline, I doubt not will receive your Lordship's particular attention. I must request that you will, as much as possible avoid granting furloughs to officers, except in the manner and proportion heretofore specified in General orders, and will not deviate but where the circumstances of the case are of a very peculiar and pressing nature. The frequency of applications on this head induces me to particularise the caution.

Your Lordship will give me the earliest intelligence, of any thing of consequence that may happen.[9]

INSTRUCTIONS TO BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Middle Brook, December 21, 1778.

You are appointed to the command at Elizabeth Town at which place you are to remain with the New Jersey Brigade: But should you be of opinion that the troops can be more conveniently quartered by removing part to New Ark, you may order a Regiment or as many to that place as circumstances shall require.

[8] "As I am under the necessity of going to Philada. for a few days, you are during my Absence to pay off the Regimental Abstracts for the Month of October and those for any Months previous thereto. I will sign the warrants upon my Return. In the meantime this shall be your Authority."—*Washington to Asst. Paymaster Gen. John Pierce,* Dec. 21, 1778. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[9] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

The principal object of your position is to prevent the Enemy stationed upon Staten Island from making incursions upon the main and also to prevent any traffic between them and the inhabitants. In this respect I must request you to be very vigilant and to use your utmost exertions as great complaints have been made of a trade's being carried on so openly and to such a height, as to alarm and give great umbrage to the well affected. I am informed that considerable quantities of provision are carried over to and goods brought from Staten Island thro' Woodbridge and Raway Necks, you will therefore either keep patrols or post small parties upon that quarter, as you shall judge most expedient and likely to prevent such intercourse.

You are to pay particular attention to my former order directing you not to suffer any persons inhabitants of the United States to go within the Enemy's lines, without they produce a written licence from Congress the Governors or legislative Authorities to which they belong or from myself, a great part of the illicit traffic complained of having been carried on by persons who under various pretences have gained permission to go to Staten Island, or New York.

As the good order and discipline of the troops will in a great measure depend upon a proper number of Officers remaining in quarters with them you will observe the following Rule in granting Furloughs as far as circumstances will admit.

Two Field Officers to remain with a Regimt. and two Commissioned Officers with a Company. Not more than twenty Soldiers to be absent from a Regiment on Furlough at one time.

You will be careful to see that the Brigade Inspector puts in practice the Manœuvers and discipline introduced the last

Campaign, as often as the State of the Weather will permit during the Winter.

The difficulty of procuring Forage for even those Horses of which there is real occasion, renders it absolutely necessary that none others be kept in the Brigade but by the Field and Staff Officers intitled thereto; for the Artillery, and for the Waggons employed in Garrison duties.

The supernumerary Horses belonging to the public to be delivered to the Dy. Qr. M. Genl. who will dispose of them in such places as will be most convenient for their accommodation.[10]

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLONEL THOMAS CLARK

Middle Brooke, December 21, 1778.

You are, agreeable to my orders of the 4th. instant,[11] to take post this Winter with the Brigade under you command at Paramus. You are to quarter the Men in as compact a manner as possible both for the preservation of discipline and the conveniency of drawing your force speedily together in case of an Alarm. Your position is intended to effect three purposes: to cover the communication to Kings Ferry, to afford countenance and protection to the well affected inhabitants of Bergen County and to be within supporting distance of the Posts in the Highlands. The more effectually to secure the communication to Kings Ferry, you are constantly to keep a Captain and fifty Men at Kakiate which is the junction of several Roads

[10] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

On December 21 Washington also wrote a brief note to Maxwell directing him to allow Lieut. William Campbell, of the Twenty-fourth Foot, British Army, and Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General, British Army in America, to go into New York by flag and when he returns to send him under the escort of an officer to Major General Phillips. This note is in the *Washington Papers*.

[11] See Washington's letter to Col. Thomas Clark, December 4–7, under Dec. 7, 1778, *ante*.

leading to the North River and a place much infested by the Banditti of the Country. The Officer is therefore to see that his Men are in their quarters at Night and their Arms always within their reach.

A succession of small scouting parties down towards Bergen and along the North River will be preferable in my opinion to stationary pickets, as they will not be liable to surprise and will be more likely to fall in with marauders from the enemy and with those of the inhabitants who make a practice of supplying the enemy with provision. They will moreover, if they do their duty, prevent you from any danger by surprise. But this I leave to your own Judgment.

You are to pay particular attention to that part of my instructions of the 4th. in which you are directed not to permit any inhabitant of the States of Jersey or New York to go within the Enemy's lines without they obtain a licence specified under the hand of their respective Governors.

The third object, that of supporting the posts in the Highlands is the most material and what you are, next to your own preservation principally to attend to. Should you receive information that the Enemy are moving up the North River in force, you are instantly to send advice to General McDougal, and fall back with the Troops to Sufferans at the entrance of the Clove, giving him information of your removal and acting afterwards agreeable to his directions. You will in such case send your Baggage to Pompton for its security. . . .[12] And you are above all things to attend to the Behaviour of the Troops and punish severely marauding or any kind of insult or damage to the persons or properties of the Inhabitants.[13]

[12] The omitted portion is a repetition of the instructions to Maxwell (the preceding document) from "As the establishment of good order etc." through "State of the Weather will permit."

[13] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, December 21, 1778.

Sir: In my passage, through Elizabeth Town, a certain Hatfield[14] was seized by my order and committed to Jail, in consequence of an intercepted letter to him from New York, supposed by the initials to be from one Hilton, which clearly shews that Hatfield is concerned in a treasonable connexion and intercourse with the writer. The letter is not now in my possession; nor do I precisely recollect the contents, but from that and from other circumstances I think it appeared, that Hatfield, abusing a permit he had received from Lord Stirling, was going to the enemy with a vessel laden with flour, in which he was pressed by his correspondent to bring as many hands as he could, which is conjectured were wanted to man a privateer. I believe there is no doubt of Hatfield's guilt; though I do not know how far the evidence against him may amount to legal proof. I directed Lord Stirling to endeavour to make all the discoveries he could, and to deliver Hatfield with all the information he had collected respecting him to the civil magistrate. What progress he has made in his inquiries I know not; but I have now desired General Maxwell without further delay to turn Hatfield over to the civil power. The vessel was also seized at the same time and is now at Middle Town point, to be disposed of as the law shall direct.

I thought it best to bring the matter under Your Excellency's notice, as I am convinced that you will not suffer it to pass without a proper investigation; and it is certainly of the greatest moment, that practices of this nature should be rigidly scrutinized and severely punished. General Maxwell will execute

[14] John Smith Hatfield (Hetfield).

any directions you shall be pleased to give him in the affair, and Lord Stirling will communicate all the information of which he is possessed. I have the honor etc.[15]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook,
Tuesday, December 22, 1778.

Parole Narraganset. Countersigns Otis, Portsmouth.

At a General Court Martial whereof Majr. Genl. Lord Stirling was President, held the 4th. of July last at Brunswick and at other times and places afterwards by Adjournment for the trial of Majr. Genl. Lee on the following charges:

First: For disobedience of orders in not attacking the Enemy on the 28th. of June agreeable to repeated instructions.

Secondly: For Misbehaviour before the Enemy on the same day by making an unnecessary, disorderly and shameful Retreat.

Thirdly: For disrespect to the Commander in Chief in two Letters dated the 1st. of July and the 28th. of June.

The Court passed sentence on the Case in the following Words: "The Court having considered the first Charge against Major General Lee, the Evidence and his defence, are of opinion that he is guilty of disobedience of Orders in not attacking the Enemy on the 28th. of June agreeable to repeated instructions; being a breach of the latter part of Article 5th. section 2nd. of the Articles of War.

The Court having considered the second Charge against Major General Lee, the Evidence and his defence, are of opinion he is guilty of Misbehaviour before the Enemy on the 28th. of June by making an unnecessary, and in some few instances

[15] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

a disorderly retreat, being a breach of the 13th. Article of the 13th. Section of the Articles of War.

The Court having considered the third charge against Major General Lee, are of opinion that he is guilty of disrespect to the Commander in Chief in two letters dated the 1st of July and 28th. of June, being a breach of the 2nd. Article, section 2nd. of the Articles of War.

The Court do sentence Major General Lee to be suspended from any command in the Armies of The United States of North America for the term of twelve Months.

The Honorable the Congress have been pleased to confirm the foregoing sentence as follows:

In Congress, December 5, 1778.

Resolved, "That the sentence of the general court martial upon Major General Lee, be carried into execution."

At a General Court Martial whereof Majr. General Lincoln was President held at White Plains the 23rd. of August last for the trial of Majr. Genl. St. Clair on the following charges:

First: With Neglect of duty under the 5th. Article of the 18th. section of the rules and Articles of War.

Second: With Cowardice, with Treachery, with Incapacity as a General, respectively, under the 5th. Article of the 18th. section of the rules and articles of War.

Third: With Treachery, under the 5th. Article of the 18th. section of the rules and articles of War.

Fourth: With inattention to the Progress of the Enemy, with Treachery, with Incapacity as a General respectively, under the 5th. Article of the 18th. section of the Rules and Articles of War.

Fifth: With shamefully abandoning the Post of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence in his charge, under the 12th. Article of the 13th. section of the rules and articles of War.

The Court passed sentence on this case in the following words: "The Court having duly considered the charges against Major General St. Clair and the evidence, are unanimously of opinion that he is not guilty of either of the charges against him and do unanimously acquit him of all and every of them with the highest Honor."

The Honorable, The Congress have been pleased to confirm the above sentence as follows:

In Congress, December 16, 1778.

Resolved, "That the sentence of the general court martial, acquitting Major General St. Clair, with the highest honor, of the charges exhibited against him, be, and is hereby confirmed."

At a General Court Martial held at the White Plains whereof Major General Lincoln was President for the trial of Major General Schuyler:

The Court having considered the charge against Major General Schuyler, the evidence and his defence, are unanimously of opinion that he is not guilty of "Any Neglect of duty in not being at Ticonderoga as charged," and the Court do acquit him with the highest Honor.

The Honorable, The Congress have been pleased to confirm the above sentence as follows:

In Congress, December 3, 1778.

Congress took into consideration the proceedings of the court martial in the trial of Major General Schuyler; Whereupon,

Resolved, That the sentence of the general court martial acquitting Major General Schuyler, with the highest honor, of the charges exhibited against him, be, and is hereby, confirmed.

The Honorable The Congress having been pleased by their Proclamation of the 21st. of November last to appoint Wednesday the 30th. instant as a day of Thanksgiving and Praise for the great and numerous Providential Mercies experienced by the People of These States in the course of the present War,

the same is to be religiously observed throughout the Army in the manner therein directed, and the different Chaplains will prepare discourses suited to the Occasion.

In consideration of the exhausted State of the Country on this communication with respect to Forage, the necessary supplies of which will be with the greatest difficulty procured, after all the care, industry and œconomy that can be used; The Commander in Chief has directed the Quarter Master General to send away from camp all the public horses that in his opinion can possibly be spared from the ordinary service of the Army. In addition to this precaution as in a stationary Camp much fewer horses will be wanted by the officers of the line in execution of the duties of their respective stations than at other times, the General particularly requests, that the General Officers will retain no more horses in camp for the use of themselves and their suites than are absolutely necessary, and that the Field Officers do endeavour to make one horse a piece suffice; The other regimental officers who are entitled to keep horses will be able to dispense with them during the Winter.

The same recommendation extends to all the staff officers entitled to keep horses, to which the General requests the attention of the heads of the several departments. The Commissary of Forage will receive the supernumerary horses and have them well provided for at a convenient place at some distance from Camp.

A Brigadier and Field Officers for the day are to be appointed. They will see the Pickets properly posted, visited and superintend the police and discipline of the camp as usual.

A Captain, two Subs, three Serjeants, a Drum and Fife and Fifty Rank and File to be sent to Bonam Town as an advanced Picket to be reliev'd every Monday 'till further orders. The Officer commanding it will receive his instructions from the Adjutant General.

GENERAL ORDERS[16]

Head Quarters, Middle Brook,
Wednesday, December 23, 1778.

Parole Quebec. Countersigns Random, Sarum.

The Troop to beat at nine o'Clock and the guard to be on the Grand Parade (which is assigned in the Common opposite to the road leading to Genl. Greene's Quarters) precisely at eleven 'till further orders.

The Body of a Person supposed to have been a servant of Major Hamilton's[17] was found drowned in the Rariton. If any Person knows who has the Watch and Money found upon said Body, he is requested to give information thereof at the Orderly Office.

The present State of the Field Officers belonging to the Brigades now on the ground to be delivered in tomorrow at orderly time.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook,
Thursday, December 24, 1778.

Parole Tobago. Countersigns Venlo, Wakefield.

The Troops after having provided themselves with sufficient timber for hutting are to cut down no more green stand-

[16] Washington left Middlebrook to wait on Congress Dec. 22, 1778, and arrived in Philadelphia that same day. He remained in that city until Feb. 2, 1779, and arrived in Middlebrook on February 5.

The command of the Army during his absence from Middlebrook devolved upon Lord Stirling. The General Orders of this period have been, as heretofore, included for the sake of keeping this record complete and also because they are entered in the Varick Transcripts, in the Library of Congress, of Washington's General Orders, without explanation for their inclusion.

[17] Maj. James Hamilton, of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment. He retired in January, 1783.

ing timber for firewood, until the logs, tops and old fallen timber be first used for that purpose.

The wise and proper orders that have been issued from time to time by His Excellency General Washington in this Army have already produced such good effects that there can be no doubt that the whole Army of whatever rank or station will use their utmost endeavours to see them carried into execution, particularly to the comfortable hutting the Army; and in order that it may be more comfortably effected, it is particularly recommended to the commanding Officers of Brigades to see that ditches are made upon the upper side of every row of huts where on descending ground at about three feet distance from them, and at every convenient place to make other ditches so as to carry off the water in front; This observed will secure the troops from any inundation of water and much contribute to the health and convenience of the whole Camp. It is also recommended to the commanding Officers of Brigades to see that no obstructions of whatever kind are left in the streets of their Encampments and that a good Parade in front of the Brigade be made clear of every incumbrance for parade duty. No firing or discharging of pieces, on any pretence whatever is to be suffered except at particular hours, which will be made known to the Army.

The People of the Country are not to hunt or fire in the neighborhood of the Camp; Whoever finds delinquents in this case will bring the Persons and Their Arms to Head-Quarters.

The whole Army to observe the strictest regularity and decency in their behaviour to the People of the Country. Officers are desired to use their utmost endeavours to detect and bring to punishment Marauders of every kind.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM PHILLIPS

Philadelphia, December 25, 1778.

Sir: On Monday last, just as I was setting out from my Quarters at Middle Brook, I received the favor of your two Letters of the 8th. Instant.

Lieutenant Campbell, agreable to your request, was permitted to proceed to New York with your dispatches to Sir Henry Clinton, with liberty to return when he should have finished his business.

With respect to an exchange of prisoners, I assure you, Sir, there is nothing that would give me greater pleasure than such an event, founded on principles of quality and mutual advantage; but at present, I see but little if any prospect of it's taking place. Since the date of your Letters there has been a meeting of Commissioners from the two Armies upon the subject, when nothing was effected; and when the views of Congress and of Sir Henry Clinton were explicitly declared. This and every other circumstance convinces me that the interview you have been pleased to propose could answer no valuable purpose; nor should I think myself at liberty to take up a business of this nature without proper authority on both sides, to give efficacy to what might be proposed or done. I have the Honor etc.[18]

To SIR HENRY CLINTON

Philadelphia, December 26, 1778.

Sir: Inclosed, I send your Excellency Wm. Beatty's representation of the case of Brower and Lezier,[19] two soldiers in the

[18] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[19] Brower and Lozier (Loziers, Lashier). Sir Henry Clinton reported that they had been captured after killing a loyalist named Richards, and why he was justified in classing them as banditti.

service of these states, who it appears are suffering under a confinement of peculiar severity, without any sufficient cause for so injurious a discrimination. I am persuaded I need only call your attention to the situation of these men to induce you to order them relief, and to have them placed precisely on the same footing with other prisoners of war. This will lead to their immediate exchange. I have the honor etc.[20]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Philadelphia, December 26, 1778.

Dear Sir: I recd. your favr. of the 17th. at this place, at which I shall remain but a few days and then return to Middle Brook. I am pleased to think that your troops will have been covered before this severe Weather.

A plan for the establishment and regulation of the Inspectorship, is now under consideration of Congress, I would not therefore have you appoint a division Inspector at this time, but let the Brigade Inspectors go on with their duties as usual. I have no objection to Colo. Meigs's executing the Office of Dy. Adjt. General. I have no power to make any appointments in the Qr. Master General department, neither do I know whether, by the present regulations, division Quarter Masters are allowed. You must therefore apply to General Greene if any thing is wanting that relates to his Office.

I have not a Copy of your instructions with me, but if my memory serves me, I was as full in my directions respecting the conduct of Officers who shall be sent upon the lines as I possibly can be. The Officer must determine from all circumstances, whether Cattle or any species of provision found near the lines are in danger of falling into the hands of the Enemy,

[20] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

or are carried there with an intent to supply them. If it is thought necessary to bring them off, they must be reported and disposed of as directed by your instructions. I was very particular upon that Head, because I know that great Acts of injustice have been committed by Officers, under pretence that provision and other kinds of property were intended for the Use of the Enemy. I would recommend the bringing off as much Forage as possible but I would not advise the destruction of what we cannot remove. I think your plan of sending out a large party under the command of a Field Officer and making detachments from thence, a good one; and if you and General Mcdougall can agree upon a co-operation of your parties I think many advantages will result from the measure. You may agree upon the mode of effecting this, between yourselves.

If a repetition of the insults, to the permission of the Governor of New York for exporting Flour, should be again offered, the Commissaries should lodge a Complaint with the Governor agt. the offenders, who I make no doubt will take proper steps to prevent such practices.

The Board of War are to issue the Commissions when the Lists of Officers included in the arrangement are compleated. I am &ca.[21]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Philadelphia, December 26, 1778.

Sir: You will be pleased to transmit the inclosed Letter to Colo. Butler by a flag. This Gentleman has requested an interview with Genl. Lee, who is to meet him. A House near Elizabeth Town point is thought most convenient for the meeting, and has been proposed to them both. Colo. Butler is to appoint

[21] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

the time and to inform you, of which you will advise General Lee and furnish any passports that may be necessary upon the occasion. General Lee it is probable will be at Elizabeth Town before you receive the notice, or on the way. I am etc.[22]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook,
Friday, December 26, 1778.

Parole Witney. Countersigns York, Zell.

All the Cartridges now with the men to be delivered up to the Regimental Quarter Masters who will have the damaged ones selected and delivered in to the Brigade Quarter Masters respectively, to whom they will make returns for a sufficient number to make up forty rounds pr man, including the good ones on hand which they are to keep by them ready to issue.

To PRESIDENT JOSEPH REED

Philadelphia, December 27, 1778.

Sir: I have had the Honor to receive Your Excellencys Letter of Yesterday, and I am extremely sorry that it is not in my power to inform the Council, with precision, in the several points of their inquiry. The State supplies of Cloathing hitherto sent to Camp, have been but small and partial. These, I believe, have been generally issued by Officers appointed by the respective states, and conformably to their instructions. It is probable the Genl. Officers of their line have had some direction in the matter, to promote a fair and proper distribution. I am equally at a loss as to the prices, at which the goods have

[22] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

been furnished; but have heard that they were moderate and reasonable; nor can I tell what allowances have been made the issuing Officers. I would take the liberty to add that there is a Gentleman now in the City, a Mr. Moss,[23] who has some Stores under his care from Virginia for the use of her Troops. It is more than probable, if your Excellency and the Council should judge it material, that you may without difficulty derive from him information both of the manner and the terms on which the delivery of the Articles in his hands is conducted. I have the Honor etc.[24]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL BENJAMIN TEMPLE

Philadelphia, December 27, 1778.

Sir: I recd. your favor of the 12th. at this place, where I shall remain a few days upon Business and then return to Middle Brook. I hope you have, by your own exertions and the Assistance of the Quarter Master, got your Men and Horses well accommodated by this time.

The Resolve of Congress being very express and extending only to the reinlistment of the old[25] Men of the Regiment, I would have you countermand your former orders and direct the recruiting Officers to attend to the reinlistment of them only. Should Congress think proper to alter their Resolution hereafter, I make no doubt but Men may be got for the service of the Cavalry, especially as they are put upon the same footing in respect to the high state Bounties with the Infantry. I am &ca.[26]

[23] Capt. John Moss, Virginia agent for stores.
[24] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[25] That is, former service men, the veterans.
[26] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

*To BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Philadelphia, December 28, 1778.

Sir: The Marquis de la fayette having served with distinction as Major General in the Army of the United States, two Campaigns, has been determined by the prospects of an European War to return to his native Country.

It is with pleasure that I embrace the oppertunity of introducing to your personal acquaintance a Gentn. whose merit cannot have left him unknown to you by reputation. The generous motives which first induced him to cross the Atlantic; The tribute which he paid to gallantry at Brandy-wine; his success in Jersey before he had recovered of his Wound, in an affair where he commanded Militia against British Grenadiers;[27] the brilliant retreat by which he eluded a combined manœuvre of the whole British force in the last Campaign; his services in the enterprize against Rhode Island, are such proofs of his Zeal, military ardour and talents as have endeared him to America, and must greatly recommend him to his Prince.

Coming with so many titles to claim your esteem, it were needless for any other purpose than to endulge my own feelings to add that I have a very particular friendship for him, and that whatever services you may have it in your power to render him will confer an obligation on one who has the honor to be etc.[28]

[27]At Gloucester, N. J., a few miles below Philadelphia, Nov. 25, 1777. An account of the affair was written down by Sparks, after conversation with Lafayette, at Lagrange, in 1828, and is in the Sparks Manuscripts, no. XXXII, Harvard College Library. A map of the maneuvers is in the Sparks Collection at Cornell, a photostat of which is in the Library of Congress.

[28]A draft, in the writing of James McHenry, dated Dec. 29, 1778, is also in the *Washington Papers*.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook,
Sunday, December 28, 1778.

Parole Brutus. Countersigns Berwick, Beverly.

Captain Kirkpatrick[29] of the 4th. Virginia Regiment is appointed Brigade Major in General Scott's Brigade, from the 15th. of October last and is to be respected accordingly.

Lieutt. Abraham Hite[30] and Lieutt. John Bowen[31] of the 8th. Virginia Regiment are appointed the first Pay Master and the second Adjutant of the same.

To MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

Philadelphia, December 29, 1778.

This will be accompanied by a letter from Congress, which will inform you, that a certain expedition, after a full consideration of all circumstances, has been laid aside[32] I am sorry however for the delay it has occasioned you by remaining so long undecided.

I am persuaded, My dear Marquis there is no need of fresh proofs to convince you either of my affection for you personally or of the high opinion I intertain of your military talents and merit. Yet as you are on the point of returning to your native country, I cannot forbear indulging my friendship by adding to the many honorable testimonies you have received from Congress, the inclosed letter from myself to our minister

[29] Capt. Abraham Kirkpatrick. He was transferred to the First Virginia Regiment in February, 1781, and served to close of the war.

[30] He was made captain in April, 1779; taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1780, and prisoner on parole to end of the war.

[31] He was taken prisoner at Charleston and retired in January, 1783.

[32] A letter from the President of Congress to Lafayette, announcing the laying aside of the Canadian expedition, is spread on the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Jan. 2, 1779. Another letter of the same purport to Lafayette, but quite different in wording, is entered under date of January 3, in the "President's Letter Book," *Papers of the Continental Congress*, no. 14, fol. 8.

at your court. I have there endeavoured to give him an idea of the value this country sets upon you; and the interest I take in your happiness cannot but make me desire you may be equally dear to your own.

Adieu, my Dear Marquis, My best wishes will ever attend you. May you have a safe and agreeable passage, and a happy meeting with your [lady and] friends! Yours, etc.[33]

To GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Philadelphia, December 29, 1778.

Dear Sir: I received your favor of the 18th Inst. and am sorry for the accident that has happened to Mr McDowell.[34] Whether his Barn was destroyed thro' design or otherwise does not alter the injury as to him, and he seems equally intitled to reparation in either case. I do not know, however, that I am authorised to direct it to be made, and therefore shall be under the necessity of submitting the matter to Congress for their decision and direction. This I am the more inclined to do, that they may settle some principle, by which relief may be given to Others, if any such there are or may be, in similar circumstances. I am etc.[35]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook,
Monday, December 29, 1778.

Parole Cato. Countersigns Camden, Campbell.

All officers, intitled to keep horses, who will send them to a distance from camp, where they may have a better supply of

[33] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The words in brackets were added by Washington.

[34] James McDowell, of "Little Britain," Ulster County, N. Y. His barn was burned by the Convention troops.

[35] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Forage than in Camp shall have the expence paid by the Forage Master General.

The many positive orders relative to the preservation of the Inhabitants' fences and Property renders it painful to the Commander in Chief at this Post to repeat them; but the frequent complaints which are daily exhibited to him of the wanton destruction of inclosures, made by the soldiers, compells him to urge officers of all ranks to search out and bring to severe and immediate punishment every soldier who shall presume to burn or otherwise destroy rails, or any part of the Farmers' inclosures. Honor and Humanity dictate that we should carefully preserve the property of our fellow Citizens.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook,
Tuesday, December 30, 1778.

Parole Daun. Countersigns Dee, Dennis.

Colo. Beauford[36] is appointed to visit and superintend the Hospitals in Jersey. He will apply at the Orderly Office tomorrow for instructions.

*To BENJAMIN HARRISON

Head Qrs., Middle Brook, December 18[–30],[37] 1778.

My dear Sir: You will be so obliging as to present the inclosed to the House when oppertunity, and a suitable occasion

[36] Col. Abraham Buford, of the Eleventh Virginia Regiment. He was transferred to the Third Virginia Regiment in February, 1781, and served to close of the war.

[37] This draft was written out and dated "Philada. Decr. 26th: 1778." Later, Washington crossed out "Philada." and wrote "Head Qrs. Middle Brook," changed "Decr. 26" back to "Decr. 18" and then wrote "18" above it. Sparks prints this as two separate letters, December 18 and the P. S. as a distinct letter, December 30; Ford prints it as one letter, under date of December 18, with the P. S. properly dated December 30.

offers.[38] I feel very sensibly the late honorable testimony of their remembrance;[39] to stand well in the good opinion of my Countrymen constitutes my chiefest happiness; and will be my best support under the perplexities and difficulties of my present Station.

The mention of my lands in the back Country was more owing to accident than design; the Virga. Officers having sollicited leave for Colo. Wood to attend the Assembly of that commonwealth with some representation of theirs respecting their claims, or wishes, brought my own matters (of a similar nature) to view; but I am too little acquainted with the minutiæ of them to ground an application on or give any trouble to the Assembly concerning them. Under the proclamation of 1763, I am entitled to 5000 Acres of Land in my own right; and by purchase from Captn. Roots, Posey, and some other Officers, I obtained rights to several thousands more, a small part of wch. I patented during the Admn. of Lord Dunmore; another part was (I believe) Surveyed, whilst the major part remains in locations; but where (without having recourse to my Memms.) and under what circumstances, I know not at this time any more than you do, nor do I wish to give trouble abt. them.

I can assign but two causes for the enemys continuance among us, and these balance so equally in my Mind, that I scarce know which of the two preponderates. The one is, that they are waiting the ultimate determination of Parliament; the other, that of our distresses; by which I know the Commissioners went home not a little buoyed up; and sorry I am to add, not without cause. What may be the effect of such large and frequent emissions, of the dissentions, Parties,

[38] See Washington's letter to Benjamin Harrison, Dec. 18, 1778, *ante*.
[39] The present of four geldings.

extravagance, and a general lax of public virtue Heaven alone can tell! I am affraid even to think of It; but it appears as clear to me as ever the Sun did in its meredian brightness, that America never stood in more eminent need of the wise, patriotic, and Spirited exertions of her Sons than at this period and if it is not a sufficient cause for genl. lamentation, my misconception of the matter impresses it too strongly upon me, that the States seperately are too much engaged in their local concerns, and have too many of their ablest men withdrawn from the general Council for the good of the common weal; in a word, I think our political system may, be compared to the mechanism of a Clock; and that our conduct should derive a lesson from it for it answers no good purpose to keep the smaller Wheels in order if the greater one which is the support and prime mover of the whole is neglected. How far the latter is the case does not become me to pronounce but as there can be no harm in a pious wish for the good of ones Country I shall offer it as mine that each State wd. not only choose, but absolutely compel their ablest Men to attend Congress; that they would instruct them to go into a thorough investigation of the causes that have produced so many disagreeable effects in the Army and Country; in a word that public abuses should be corrected, and an entire reformation worked; without these it does not, in my judgment, require the spirit of divination to foretell the consequences of the present Administration, nor to how little purpose the States, individually, are framing constitutions, providing laws, and filling Offices with the abilities of their ablest Men. These, if the great whole is mismanaged must sink in the general wreck and will carry with it the remorse of thinking that we are lost by our own folly and negligence, or the desire perhaps of living in ease and tranquility

during the expected accomplishment of so great a revolution in the effecting of which the greatest abilities and the honestest Men our (i. e. the American) world affords ought to be employed. It is much to be feared my dear Sir that the States in their seperate capacities have very inadequate ideas of the present danger. Removed (some of them) far distant from the scene of action and seeing, and hearing such publications only as flatter their wishes they conceive that the contest is at an end, and that to regulate the government and police of their own State is all that remains to be done; but it is devoutly to be wished that a sad reverse of this may not fall upon them like a thunder clap that is little expected. I do not mean to designate particular States. I wish to cast no reflections upon any one. The Public believes (and if they do believe it, the fact might almost as well be so) that the States at this time are badly represented, and that the great, and important concerns of the nation are horribly conducted, for want either of abilities or application in the Members, or through discord and party views of some individuals; that they should be so, is to be lamented more at this time, than formerly, as we are far advanced in the dispute and in the opinn. of many drawg. to a happy period; have the eyes of Europe upon us, and I am perswaded many political Spies to watch, discover our situation, and give information of our weaknesses and wants.

The story you have related of a proposal to redeem the paper money at its present depreciated value has also come to my ears,[40] but I cannot vouch for the authenticity of it. I am very happy to hear that the Assembly of Virginia have put the completion of their Regiment upon a footing so apparently

[40] Harrison's letter, forwarding the resolve of the Virginia House of Delegates, and containing this story of the redemption of paper money, is not found in the *Washington Papers*.

certain, but as one great defect of your past Laws for this purpose, has lain in the mode of getting the Men to the Army, I shall hope that effectual measures are pointed out in the present, to remedy the evil and bring forward all that shall be raised. The Embargo upon Provisions is a most salutary measure as I am affraid a sufficiency of flour will not easily be obtained even with money of higher estimation than ours. adieu my dear Sir.

P. S. Phila. 30th. This Letter was to have gone by Post from Middle brook but missed that conveyance, since which I have come to this place at the request of Congress whence I shall soon return.

I have seen nothing since I came here (on the 22d. Instt.) to change my opinion of Men or Measrs. but abundant reason to be convinced, that our Affairs are in a more distressed, ruinous, and deplorable condition than they have been in Since the commencement of the War. By a faithful labourer then in the cause. By a Man who is daily injuring his private Estate without even the smallest earthly advantage not common to all in case of a favourable Issue to the dispute. By one who wishes the prosperity of America most devoutly and sees or thinks he sees it, on the brink of ruin, you are beseeched most earnestly my dear Colo. Harrison, to exert yourself in endeavouring to rescue your Country, by, (let me add) sending your ablest and best Men to Congress; these characters must not slumber, nor sleep at home, in such times of pressing danger; they must not content themselves in the enjoyment of places of honor or profit in their own Country, while the common interests of America are mouldering and sinking into irretrievable (if a remedy is not soon applied) ruin, in which theirs also must ultimately be involved. If I was to be called upon to

draw A picture of the times, and of Men; from what I have seen, heard, and in part know I should in one word say that idleness, dissipation and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold of most of them. That Speculation, peculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches seems to have got the better of every other consideration and almost of every order of Men. That party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day whilst the momentous concerns of an empire, a great and accumulated debt; ruined finances, depreciated money, and want of credit (which in their consequences is the want of every thing) are but secondary considerations and postponed from day to day, from week to week as if our affairs wore the most promising aspect; after drawing this picture, which from my Soul I believe to be a true one I need not repeat to you that I am alarmed and wish to see my Countrymen roused. I have no resentments, nor do I mean to point at any particular characters; this I can declare upon my honor for I have every attention paid me by Congress than I can possibly expect and have reason to think that I stand well in their estimation but in the present situation of things I cannot help asking: Where is Mason, Wythe, Jefferson, Nicholas, Pendleton, Nelson, and another I could name;[41] and why, if you are sufficiently impressed with your danger, do you not (as New Yk. has done in the case of Mr. Jay) send an extra Member or two for at least a certain limited time till the great business of the Nation is put upon a more respectable and happy establishmt. Your Money is now sinking 5 pr. Ct. a day in this City; and I shall not be surprized if in the course of a few months a total stop is put to the currency of it. And yet an assembly, a concert, a Dinner, or Supper

[41] George Mason, George Wythe, Thomas Jefferson, Wilson Cary Nicholas, Edmund Pendleton, Thomas Nelson, jr., and Benjamin Harrison.

(that will cost three or four hundred pounds) will not only take Men of from acting in but even from thinking of this business while a great part of the Officers of your Army from absolute necessity are quitting the Service and the more virtuous few rather than do this are sinking by sure degrees into beggery and want. I again repeat to you that this is not an exaggerated acct.; that it is an alarming one I do not deny, and confess to you that I feel more real distress on acct. of the prest. appearances of things than I have done at any one time since the commencement of the dispute; but it is time to bid you once more adieu. Providence has heretofore taken us up when all other means and hope seemed to be departing from us, in this I will confide. Yr. &ca.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, December 31, 1778.

Sir: I had the honor of addressing Congress some time since on the subject of General Du Portail and the Gentlemen with him. He informs me that his affair has not yet been decided and is extremely anxious that it should be in some way or other. He assigns many powerful reasons to show that it is very interesting to him, if he is not to continue in our service, to return to France as speedily as possible.

He also informs me, that he has reason to think, in the consideration of his affair, the retaining him in service and the adopting the plan proposed in his memoir are united, and the decision of the one suspended on that of the other; and has therefore requested me to represent to Congress that he should be happy they could be considered seperately; and if his services, abstractedly from the project proposed by him, are deemed necessary, it will be agreeable to him to remain in the Country.

I have already taken the liberty to offer my sentiments on the propriety of engaging those Gentlemen to continue in the service. It really appears to me that they will be essentially necessary to our future operations whether defensive or offensive; and it cannot therefore but give me pleasure, if it shall be consistent with the views of Congress to retain them and to give every encouragement which they may reasonably expect. I have the honor etc.[42]

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Philadelphia, December 31, 1778.

Dear Sir: In a letter which I had the pleasure of writing you the 18th. Inst. I requested you to take the direction of the magazines &c. which were to be prepared towards a certain expedition. I should have extended the idea to your taking the full command in the Northern department; but I was restrained by a doubt how far the measure might be agreeable to your own views and intentions. The same doubt still remains, but as it is very much my desire you should resume that command, I take occasion to signify it to you; at the same time, if you have any material objections against it, I would not wish to preclude their operation. If you have not, you will be pleased to consider this as an order for the purpose.[43]

As you are fully acquainted with all the objects of the command, it is unnecessary to enter into a detail of particular instructions.

In a letter I have received from General Clinton, he conveys a request from Major Whiting,[44] of Aldens regiment to have

[42] In the writing of Richard Kidder Meade.

[43] Schuyler replied (Jan. 25, 1779), confirming his resignation and declined Washington's offer of the command. Schuyler's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[44] Maj. Daniel Whiting, of the Seventh Massachusetts Regiment.

the regiment releived. I have informed him that the matter is referred to you. You will best judge whether the situation of that regiment and the good of the service will make it proper to comply with the request. He also transmits a recommendation from Major Whiting for promoting Lt. Jonas Parker.[45] If there are any vacancies in the regiment which require to be filled up, a particular state of them, of the periods they commenced, and the officers intitled to succeed, ought to be made out and transmitted to the Board of War. I am etc.[46]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON

Philadelphia, December 31, 1778.

Sir: I have been favoured with your Letter of the 5th. Inst. and with your's and Genl. Hand's of the 28th. Ulto. The one you mention of the 20th. never came to hand.

As the impediments which suspended General Schuyler from command are now removed by an Honorable acquittal. I have written him a line upon the subject of his resuming it, in the Department where he now is for the present. If this event takes place, you will 'till some new arrangement or disposition is made, consider yourself under his directions, and receive orders from him accordingly.

With respect to Major Whiting's application to be releived. I have mentioned the matter to General Schuyler, and he will give such orders about it as circumstances will permit and justify. I have also mentioned to him the case of Lt. Jonas Parker, and requested him to obtain a state of the Officers of the Regiment, of the vacancies and the periods when they

[45] Capt.-Lieut. Jonas Parker, of the Seventh Massachusetts Regiment. He was made captain in July, 1779, and dismissed in January, 1781.

[46] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton.

happened, and to transmit it to the Board of War who are to issue all Commissions in future.

I always hear of capital executions with concern, and regret that there should occur so many instances in which they are necessary. Aaron Williams appears to have deserved the fate he met with, and the service, from the number of desertions you mention in the York line, to have pointed to his early punishment. I am etc.[47] [M.L.]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL BENJAMIN FLOWER[48]

Philadelphia, December 31, 1778.

Sir: I am favd. with yours of this date. I wish I was sufficiently acquainted with Circumstances, to enable me to give you such a Certificate as would fully answer your purposes; but when you reflect that little or no part of the conduct of your Office has come under my immediate Notice, you must see the impropriety of my undertaking to vouch for the regular discharge of your duty or to affix an adequate salary or Commn. to the transaction of a Business of which I am by no means a competent Judge. If I am not mistaken, your department has been newly arranged and put upon a different and more extensive footing than it was when you received your Commn. at Morris Town. As you have been since chiefly under the direction and Controal of the Board of War and Ordnance, they must of course be the best Judges of your Merits as an Officer, and of the proper compensation for your trouble, risque of disbursing large sums of public Money, and the expences necessarily attendant upon your Business. I am etc.[49]

[47] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[48] Commissary General of Military Stores of the Continental Army.
[49] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook,
Wednesday, December 31, 1778.

Parole Edward. Countersigns Edom, Esk.

The Tents and Markees which are public property are to be delivered in to the Quarter Master General's Store as soon as the Officers and men are hutted; Likewise the tools which were delivered out for the purpose of building huts.

The Regimental Pay Masters will make out returns of the Blankets wanting in their respective Regiments early tomorrow morning and deliver them to the Brigade Majors, who are to digest them into Brigade returns and deliver them in at Orderly time tomorrow.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, January 1, 1779.

Parole Happy. Countersigns New, Year.

The Brigade Commissaries are to deliver their Hides and Tallow to the Commissary of Hides at Bound Brook at least once a week, taking his receipt for the same, and the Commissary of Hides will issue upon the order of the Commandant of Brigades what number of hides may be necessary to exchange for shoes for the use of their respective Brigades; provided that demand does not exceed the number delivered in.

The Officer of the day will in the tour of his duty pay a particular attention to the order of the camp and forbid Tippling Houses within it's Vicinity: No Person is permitted to sell liquor except such as are capable of giving decent entertainment to passengers, or specially authorized, upon penalty

of forfeiting their liquors, which will be appropriated for the use of the Army.

No soldier is to be out of his quarters after dark; no person is to entertain them after that time under any pretence.

Lieutenant William Bruce[50] and Ensign Samuel Hanson[51] both of the 5th. Maryland Regiment are appointed the 1st, Adjutant from the 6th. day of June, and the 2nd., Quarter Master from the 1st. of October 1778, to said Regiment.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Philadelphia, January 1, 1779.

Sir: I take the liberty of transmitting to Congress the inclosed Letter with the papers which accompany it, which I received two or three days ago from His Excelly. Governor Clinton. Mr. McDowel's application seems to merit relief, whether the Barn &c. were destroyed by accident or thro' design. In either case the injury is the same and may equally call for reparation by the Public in the first instance. I did not conceive myself authorized to direct him to be paid the amount of his loss, nor did the Quarter Master Genl. think he had power to interfere in the matter, without a special direction. It may happen that accidents of a similar nature may arise to Others, in the course of the march of the Convention troops, and therefore if some General principle could be adopted to relieve where it may be necessary, it might save Congress the trouble of a variety of applications. Cases of the kind, it would seem, fall more properly within the compass of the Quarter Masters line than within that of any other. I have the Honor etc.[52]

[50] He was made captain in August, 1780; retained in the Maryland Battalion in April, 1783; served to November of that year.

[51] He was made lieutenant in July, 1779, and retired in April, 1783.

[52] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To LORD STIRLING

Philadelphia, January 1, 1779.

My Lord: I this minute received Your Lordships favor of the 29th. Ulto., that of the 24th. came to hand on Wednesday night.

If a stroke can be effected against the Enemy on Staten Island with success, it is much to be desired and if the situation of the Bay of New York is such as to prevent support coming from the City or Long Island;[53] and the passage from Jersey, on account of the ice should be safe for our troops to cross and recross, I shall not have any objection to your Lordship's attempting to enterprize something. These are points of great weight and the certainty of them can only justify the undertaking. These and others; but they are such as occur in every operation and they will I am certain be properly considered Viz. the force of the Enemy, their situation &c and the number of the troops and the means to be employed against them.

I shall be extremely glad if the supplies of forage arrive which Colo Biddle has mentioned; and if he should be able to keep them up in future.

You will be pleased to present my Compliments to Lady Stirling and accept my wishes for both your happiness. I am etc.

P. S. Your's of the 25th. was recd. this morning.[54]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD

Philadelphia January 1, 1779.

Dear Sir: The inclosed was addressed to me by the Board of War at the request of Mr. Rutherford,[55] as it appears from

[53] Stirling stated that New York Bay was too full of ice to permit of British reenforcements coming from New York City.

[54] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[55] Rutherford was at one time a shoe manufacturer in Philadelphia.

the State of the Case that an Officer is necessary to keep the Men employed in the shoe factory at Newark in order I think it will be best for you to appoint one for that purpose. You may perhaps know more of the matter than I do, and therefore should there be any misrepresentation, you are at liberty to act as you shall judge proper. I am etc.

P. S. At all Events I would have the Men left at Newark for the Winter.[56]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND

Philadelphia, January 1, 1779.

Sir: Since I arrived here, I received your favor of the 17th. Ulto. I am sorry the Country about Minisincks or within supporting distance could not afford forage sufficient to subsist Count Pulaski's Horse. Matters respecting them and their Quarters are arranged before this. As to the German batallion, should any pressing circumstances arise to make it essential, you may call it from Easton.

With respect to an expedition against the Indian and Tory settlements, which you mention, their reduction is to be wished; Yet it appears to me, that great difficulties and expence must attend it; and, that nothing will justify its being undertaken, but the fairest prospects, indeed a certainty of success. These, from the idea I have of the Country, from the sentiments of others, from the precarious supplies of provender necessary for the horses to be employed: which would consequently place the support of the troops on a very doubtful and hazardous footing, do not present themselves and, without taking any consideration of the opposition on the part of the Enemy, of the harrassing your Men, and of many other difficulties

[56] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

which occur always in Winter enterprizes, more especially, where the common benefits of shelter cannot be received, induce me for the present to be against the measure. You may nevertheless inform yourself by the best enquiries as to the facility and the means of attempting it, and transmit me your advices upon the subject. I am etc.[57]

To MAJOR BENJAMIN TALLMADGE

Philadelphia, January 2, 1779.

Dear Sir: I have received your favor of the 23d. ulto. inclosing a letter No 5 from C. I have no new instructions to give him and therefore if you see or write to him only desire him to comply as near as possible with those already sent to him. There are regular Expresses established between Danbury and the Head Quarters of the Army and you therefore need not in future send a special messenger the whole way. Send your letters to General Putnam at or near Danbury letting him know that they are to be forwarded with dispatch I shall get them sooner than by a single Express. I am &c.[58]

To LORD STIRLING

Philadelphia, January 2, 1779.

My Lord: I am favd. with yours of the 30th. ulto. with the information from Z[59] inclosed. I thank you for that and what you have collected from other quarters.

[57] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[58] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[59] Lieut. Lewis J. Costigan, of the First New Jersey Regiment. He was taken prisoner and pretended to foreswear his allegiance, and after being exchanged continued in New York City for four months and sent in secret intelligence to Washington over the signature of "Z." His memorial to Washington for compensation, under date of Apr. 4, 1782, is in the *Washington Papers*.

I shall communicate that part of your letter respecting Cannon Ball to the Board of War and Ordnance, and if they have not already made contracts for a sufficient Quantity they may if they think proper make their proposals known to the managers of those Works under your Lordships direction. I return your Lordship the Compliments of the Season and am etc.[60]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JACOB BAYLEY

Philadelphia, January 2, 1779.

Sir: I recd. your favr. of the 8th. Decemr. at this place, from whence I shall return again to Middle Brook in a few days. New and more powerful reasons have occurred for laying aside the expedition at this time, than when I wrote you last. I therefore again desire that you will desist from making further preparations and not go beyond the orders which have been given you by the Quarter Master and Commy. General for the establishment of Magazines. You will be pleased to take the greatest Care of the Stores that have been laid up, because although present circumstances forbid an expedition, yet some future events may induce us to take it up. If you follow the directions given to you by the Quarter Master and Commy. General and myself for the establishment and situation of the Magazines you will be fully justified and need not take any notice of the opinion of others. I am &c.[60]

To JOHN PARKE CUSTIS

Philadelphia, January 2, 1779.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the twelfth of last month from Williamsburg is got safe to hand, and I am obliged to you for

[60] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

the deed which you have got from the secretary's office in Richmond, and purposed bringing to Lund Washington.

You say, I shall be surprised at the slow progress made by your assembly in the passage of the bills through both houses. I really am not, nor shall I, I believe, be again surprised at anything; for it appears to me that idleness and dissipation seems to have taken such fast hold of every body, that I shall not be at all surprised if there should be a general wreck of everything.

From my former knowledge of Finney,[61] and what you said (when at camp) of his conduct respecting a contract for corn, I could not help mentioning the matter to the quartermaster-general, who wishes to know the precise circumstances of the case, that he may take measures accordingly. If my memory has not failed me, you said that Finney agreed to give Mr. Geo. Webb 40s. a barrel for some certain quantity, or all that he could purchase, and that Webb immediately sent, or rode up York river himself and purchased the corn at 25s. or 30s. a barrel.

If this is a fact, and if I recollect right, you spoke of it without reserve, it is such a violent imposition upon the public, and such a proof of his indolence, to say no worse of it, and unfitness for such a place of trust as to remove him from office. I would not have you say more of him than you know can be proved, lest it should recoil. I think you mentioned some other circumstance relative to a contract of Finney with Mr. Braxton.[62] Let me hear from you by the first post on this subject. My love to Nelly and the children. Your mother will, I expect, write to you, as she is with me here, and well. Yours, affectionately.[63]

[61] William Finnie(?), Deputy Quartermaster General.
[62] Carter(?) Braxton.
[63] The text is from Custis's *Recollections of Washington.*

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, January 4, 1779.

Parole Hiram. Countersigns Hermon, Henly.

The commanding Officers of Brigades are to make report of their huts and how far completed as soon as possible.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, January 5, 1779.

Parole Ireton. Countersigns Iller, Ill.

As passing over Rye and Wheat Fields will prove very prejudicial to the inhabitants and ruin their crops, all officers are called upon to prevent as far as possible such pernicious practices and bring to condign punishment such as transgress.

To DOCTOR JOHN MORGAN

Head Quarters, Morristown,[64] January 5, 1779.

Sir: Your letter of the 27th. Decr. last with its inclosures has been received. Doctor Shippen is ordered by this conveyance in arrest, on the charges you have exhibited.

General Arnold's tryal being yet unfinished and succeeding Mr. Hooper it will not be possible to bring on Doctor Shippens at the time you have propozed coming up to camp; the citations therefore for the attendance of the persons you have named cannot be made out at present. The moment the day can be fixed on, you shall have timely notice, with the citations mentioned as essential. I am, etc.[65]

[64] Should be Philadelphia.

[65] The draft is in the writing of James McHenry.

To MARQUIS DE BRETIGNY

Philadelphia, January 6, 1779.

Sir: I have received your favor of the 1st. Inst. and perused your summary of a plan for raising a french Regiment.[66] The matter not being officially before me I can only give as my opinion that the precautions which you have there proposed, such as the limiting the number of officers to the proportion of men enlisted. The choice of Soldiers united by the ties of Country similar manners and ways of thinking, wd obviate two great objections usually made against Corps of this kind. If the Congress approve the carrying your plan into effect I would above all recommend that deserters be excluded from your Regiment; they for the most part prove a dead loss of bounty and appointments to the States, and often are the authors of more serious mischief. I am &c.[67]

To DOCTOR JOHN MORGAN

Philadelphia, January 6, 1779.

Sir: So much time hath elapsed since the several transactions, upon which you require my opinion, happened, and having none of my papers of that day to refer to, I am obliged to trust to my memory alone, which I fear will enable me to give but very imperfect answers to the queries, contained in your letter of the — instant.[68]

The Hospitals at Cambridge being stationary, and in a country full of every necessary for the use of the patients, were well provided, and I imagine well attended, as I do not remember that any complaints were made upon that head. There were then, as there have been since, contentions between the

[66] Bretigny's letter, dated Jan. 1, 1779, and his plan are in the *Washington Papers*.
[67] The draft is in the writing of John Laurens.
[68] Morgan's letter dated Jan. 5, 1779, is in the *Washington Papers*.

Hospital and Regimental Surgeons respecting the line of their duties, by which the service hath ever suffered more or less.

No fault I believe ever was nor could be found with the œconomy of the Hospital, during your Directorship. Things in the first stage of the War were plentyfull and cheap, and I am inclined to think that you contributed as much as lay in your power to provide at the lowest Rates. What were the expenditures in your time I do not know.

I very well remember that when the Army marched from Boston to New York, you remained behind, by my order, to collect Medicines, and that you were a considerable time employed in that service: But I will not undertake to say what quantity or of what kind the Medicines were that you procured.

The Troops, while they remained in the City of New York, and while they were encamped near Haarlem, were exceedingly sickly and died fast: But I cannot pretend to assign the precise Cause or Causes. I believe much may be attributed to the rawness of the troops, unused to a Camp life, want of necessaries and the extreme fatigue they were obliged to undergo during the Heat of the Summer. There were mutual Complaints, between the Hospital and Regimental Surgeons, of each other, the former alledging an intention in the latter to thwart their measures by not sending their men regularly to the Hospitals, the latter asserting that they could obtain neither Medicines nor Stores for the sick in Regiments and that they suffered when at the Hospital. During this time, I believe the seeds of those disorders, and distempers were sown, which broke out with so much Violence later in the fall. When the Army was under the necessity of removing from York Island to the White plains, and part of it from thence to New Jersey, we were peculiarly distressed for want of the means of transportation, by which the sick undoubtedly suffered in their removal. I do not recollect that you were charged with personal

inattention or want of activity, but the clamours were loud against the department in general, and the miserable condition of the sick in all quarters a fact too well known and remembered. Whether this was owing to a too contracted medical system or to any other unavoidable causes you I imagine will be able to point out to the Committee of Congress appointed to give you a hearing.

The Resolve of Congress appointing Docr. Shippen and yourself Directors in seperate departments occasioned a disagreement between you, I think particularly as to the disposal of the Hospital Stores. I remember that I was obliged, for the good of the Service, to interpose in some manner, but without reference to my papers, I will not undertake to say, what orders I was under the necessity of giving. I have understood that this clashing between Docr. Shippen and yourself was no small cause of the Calamities that befell the sick in 1776.

I can with truth acquit you of any disobedience or neglect of my general Orders at any time, on the contrary you always appeared ready to execute them, and frequently furnished me with directions to be given in orders for the better accommodation of the sick.

I have every reason to think that you exerted yourself in the removal of the Hospital Stores from N.York in 1776 and, I well remember the fact of your remaining in the City among the last that stayed. I am &c.[69]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Philadelphia, January 7, 1779.

Sir: I am favd. with yours of the 31st. Decemr. inclosing two letters from Major Howell.

[69] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To prevent a too frequent interview by Flag Boats I lately wrote to the Governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey and pointed out the inconveniences of peoples coming almost daily with permissions from them to go into New York, which occasioned the Officer commanding at Elizabeth Town to send a Flag with each individual, by which means a constant current of intelligence was kept up. I proposed to the Governors of the above mentioned States, that a Flag Boat should go the first of every Month only (except in particular cases or with public dispatches) from Elize: Town to Staten Island, and that therefore when applications were made for passes they should inform those who obtained them, that it would be needless to go to Elize: Town at any other time than the first of the Month, as they would be obliged to wait.

They have acceded to this and you will therefore be free'd in Future from the constant applications to furnish Flags.

I have sent you by this conveyance the several late News papers to exchange for those of New York. I shall continue to send them to you as they come to my hands, to answer the same purpose. I am &c.[70]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, January 7, 1779.

Parole Lysander. Countersigns Lubon, Lue.

The Clothier General is immediately to deliver out to the respective regiments any deficiencies of the proportion of clothing allowed at Frederick's burgh: When that is completed, the commanding officers of Brigades are to make returns in to the Orderly Office of whatever then will be deficient.

[70] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Middle Brook, January 8, 1779.

Parole Montgomery. Countersigns Milo, Milton.

At a General Court Martial held near Fish Kill, November 9th. 1778, Colonel John Neville,[71] President:

Colonel Thomas Price,[72] commanding the 2nd. Maryland Regiment, was tried on the following charges, viz.

1stly. Cowardice on York Island in the face of the Enemy.

2ndly. Disgraceful behaviour in refusing to take command, at Hackinsack, of the regiment late Smallwood's when ordered to Fort Lee.

3rdly. Scandalously leaving Hackinsack at 12 o'Clock at night, when raining, on the report of the enemies approach.

4thly. Disgracefully leaving Kingston on the approach of the enemy.

5thly. Cowardice at Brandewine.

6thly. Cowardice at Germantown.

7thly. Ungentlemanlike behaviour in not complying with his promise, to leave the service, made at a court of Inquiry at White Marsh, by which he induced many of the Witnesses thro' compassion to suppress their evidence.

After maturely considering the charges and evidence and defence, The Court do acquit Colonel Thomas Price of the 4th. 5th. and 6th. charges; They also acquit him with honor of the 1st. 2nd. 3rd. and 7th. charges.

Major General Lord Stirling, Commander in Chief in the Jersies, confirms the sentence of the Court and orders Colonel Price to be released from his Arrest.

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[71] Of the Fourth Virginia Regiment. He served to the close of the war.

[72] He resigned in April, 1780.

Lieutenant Robert Porterfield[73] of the 7th. Virginia Regiment is to do the duty of Brigade Major 'till further orders in General Woodford's Brigade, Brigade Major Porterfield[74] being absent.

*To THE COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE

Phila. January 8, 1779.

Gentn: As the resolve of Congress appointing you a Committee to confer with me, extends the object of a conference to the general operations of the next Campaign, I have taken the liberty to throw together a few imperfect minutes of those heads which will require your attention. These minutes only comprehend general ideas upon which the several points may be taken up; but in the course of the conference, as far as may rest with me to do it, I shall be ready to give a detail of any particulars which may be deemed necessary. I have the honor etc.[75]

*MINUTES OF SUNDRY MATTERS TO BECOME THE SUBJECT OF CONFERENCE WITH A COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

1st. The first and great object is to recruit the Army.

By Inlisting all the Men now in it during the War, who are engaged for any term short of it; for this purpose no bounty shd. be spared.

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[73] He was promoted to captain-lieutenant in July, 1779; captain in August, 1779; taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1780; exchanged in December, 1780; transferred to the Second Virginia Regiment in February, 1781; served to close of the war.

[74] Brigade Maj. Charles Porterfield. He resigned in July, 1779; was made lieutenant colonel of a Virginia State regiment in August, 1779; wounded and taken prisoner at Camden, S. C., in August, 1780; died of his wound in October, 1780.

[75] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

This Committee of Conference was appointed by Congress on Dec. 24, 1778, and consisted of James Duane, Jesse Root, Meriwether Smith, Gouverneur Morris, and Henry Laurens. The above letter was addressed to Duane as chairman.

By drafting, upon some such plan as was recommended (by me) to the Committee at Valley forge last February.

2d. The next object is to Fix some Ideas respecting the Northern preparations, concerning which the Commander in chief now finds himself in a delemma, and respecting the operations of the next Campaign in general, in order that measures may be taken systematically.

The following questions on which the foregoing will depend, ought to be considered and decided.

1st. If the enemy retain their present force at New York and Rhode Island can we assemble a sufficient force, and means, to expel them?

2d. If we cannot, can we make a successful attempt against Niagara and keep a sufficient force at the same time on the Sea board, to keep the enemy within their present Posts?[76]

3d. Are our Finances equal to eventual preparations for both these objects?

If the first is determined in the affirmative, and the enemy keep possession, we ought to direct almost our whole force and exertions to that point; and for the security of our Frontiers endeavour to make some Expedition against Detroit and the Indian Settlements, by way of diversion. Our preparations ought then to be adapted to this plan; and if we cannot conveniently unite our preparations for this object with an Expedition against Niagara, we ought to renounce the latter.

If the first question is answered negatively, and the second affirmatively, and it is judged expedient to make such an attempt, our preparations ought to have reference principally thereto, and we must content ourselves with a merely defensive conduct elsewhere and should study œconomy as much as possible. It is in vain to attempt things which are more the

[76] The draft, in the writing of Hamilton, has "within bounds."

objects of desire than attainment. Every undertaking must be, at least ought to be, regulated by the state of our Finances, the prospect of our Supplies, and the probability of success; without this disappointment, disgrace, and increase of debt will follow on our part; exultation and renewed hope, on that of the enemy. To determine therefore what we can undertake, the State of the Army, the prospect of recruiting it, paying, cloathing and feeding it. The providing the necessary apparatus for offensive operations, all these matters ought to be well and maturely considered, on them every thing must depend and however reluctantly we yield, they will compel us to conform to them; or by attempting impossibilities we shall ruin our Affairs.

From the investigation of these points another question may possibly result. viz:

Will not the situation of our affairs on account of the depreciated condition of our Money,[77] deficiency of Broad, scarcity of Forage, the exhausted state of our resources in the Middle department, and the General distress of the Inhabitants render it advisable for the main body of the Army to lye quiet in some favourable position for confining (as much as possible) the enemy to their present Posts (adopting at the same time the best means in our power to scourge the Indians and prevent their depredations) in order to save expences, avoid New Emissions, recruit our finances, and give a proper tone to our Money for more vigorous measures hereafter?

If the third question is answered affirmatively which it is much to be feared cannot be done, then eventual preparations ought to be made for both. We shall then be best able to act according to future circumstances; for though it will be impossible to unite both objects in the execution; yet in the event

[77] The draft reads "currency."

of the enemys leaving these States we should be ready to strike an important blow, for the effectual security of our Frontiers and for opening a door for a further progress into Canada.

3d. In determining a plan of operations for next Campaign much will depend on the prospect of European affairs, what we have to expect from our friends, what they will expect from us, and what the enemy will probably be able to do. These points should be well weighed and every information concentred to throw light upon them. But upon the whole, it will be the safest and most prudent way, to suppose the worst and prepare for it.

4th. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the providing ample supplies of Arms, Clothes, and Ordnance Stores is essential; and that an uncertain dependence on them may be not only hurtful but ruinous. Their importance demands that very expedient should be without delay adopted towards obtaining these Articles in due Season for the purposes of next Campaign.

Heavy Cannon for the Posts in the Highlands, for Battering, and for Vessels if offensive measures are to be pursued, must be immediately provided and in considerable quantity,[78] with a sufficient Apparatus will also be wanted.

5th. The completing the arrangement of the Army without further delay, is a matter of great importance, whatever may be our plan; the want of this is a source of infinite dissatisfaction to the Officers in general and continual perplexity to the Commandr in chief.

The want of Brigadiers is a material inconvenience, and has been the cause of much relaxation of discipline and discontent, and loss in several instances.

[78] The draft reads "Large mortars."

6th. The Ordnance department seems to require some important alteration. Generl. Knox's representation, transmitted to Congress in July or August last,[79] and his Letter and Memorial of the Ulto.[80] copy of wch. is annexed, shows that he finds himself under embarrassments of a very disagreeable nature from the present form of it.

7th. The Clothing department appears to be altogether unsettled and confused, and requires immediate attention for the purposes both of regular Issues to the Army, and of saving to the Public. There are too many persons concerned in that business, and acting independently of each other, to have it well conducted. The Army is now exceedingly deficient in the articles of Blankets and Hats; and soon will be of Shoes, as the call for them is incessant. They might, I should conceive, be contracted for, by means of the Hides wch. we have in abundance.

8th. The Hospital is, in some respects, in my judgment upon an improper establishment, and might be altered for the better. I mean that part of it which appoints Sub-directors, Surgeons &ca. for different districts, which necessarily must be attended with one or the other of these two evils; either that a competent number must be appointed in each district to serve the

[79] Knox's letter to Washington was dated June 15, 1778, and was forwarded by Washington to Congress in his letter of Aug. 3, 1778. These letters are in the *Washington Papers* and the *Papers of the Continental Congress.*

[80] Knox's two letters to Washington, dated Dec. 30, 1778, are in the *Washington Papers.*

On January 14 Washington wrote to Knox: "I duly received your favor of the 30th Ulto. inclosing one of the same date representing the State of the Ordnance Department. The latter I submitted to the consideration of the Committee appointed by Congress to confer with me on the affairs of the Army. The Committee agrees that the Department is at present on a very improper footing and concludes that its defects will be most effectually remedied in a conference with you; I am to desire therefore that you will repair immediately to Philadelphia furnished with such papers respecting the Department as may serve to throw farther light on the subject. You will bring with you all the late Returns of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores." This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

purposes of the whole Army (in case the theatre of War should happen to be there) which must be a great unnecessary burthen to the Public. Or, these Gentlemen must be occasionally removed from one district to another which is productive of an interference of authority, jealousies and disputes very injurious to the Service.

It appears to me, that there is no occasion for alloting those departments which are under one general Director into districts. 'Tis true, that wherever there are Troops, there must be Surgeons and Hospital stores, but these can be sent by the Director General as Exigencies require, and proportioned to the demand; Whereas by being made stationary they become inadequate to the duty in one case, and Sinecures in the other. From the beginning of the War there has been a constant disagreement between the Hospital and Regimental Surgeons, in which, more than probably both have been wrong; but I cannot help thinking if a little more latitude were granted to the Regimental Surgeons under the Inspection of the Director General, or rather Surgeon Genl. of the flying Hospital that great good would result from it. As far as I can judge much expence has been incurred, many lives have been lost, and many desertions have been occasioned by removing Men from Camp which the means of taking care of them in their Regiments might have prevented. It often happens that the seeds of dangerous disorders are sown by removing the Sick at improper times and in unfavourable weather, which might be avoided by keeping them in Camp, if they could have the necessary assistance there, but which under the present arrangement are unavoidable.

9th. The immediate Establishment of the Inspectorship on some difinitive plan, that the Benefits of it may be fully derived towards the next Campaign is a matter of the utmost importance.

10th. It is also very interesting that the Engineering department should be arranged upon some fixed and explicit footing.

11th. The Situation of the Officers of the Army (under the present depreciated state of the Paper Curry. and consequent high prices of every necessary) is so singularly hard that the bare mention of their case is sufficient to bring it home to the attention and feelings of every man of reflection, and will leave him no doubt of the necessity of applying a remedy the most speedy and effectual.[81]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Head Quarters, Philadelphia, January 8, 1779.

Dear Sir: I am duly favoured with your letter of the 23d. december, accompanied by one from General Parsons, which I cannot but consider as containing some insinuations of the most delicate nature; I am the more surprized at them as his knowledge of circumstances[82] and the agency he had in bringing about the measure, which is now made a subject of complaint

[81] In addition to this letter, a draft, in the writing of Alexander Hamilton, is also in the *Washington Papers*. It is indorsed by James Duane: "General Washington's Remarks & Queries for the Committee." It varies from the letter in the order of its paragraphs and in the minor verbal variations already noted.

In reply to these Minutes, James Duane, chairman of the committee, wrote to Washington (January 9):

"In order to give Despatch to the several matters mentioned in your Excellency's Report to the Committee it is proposed to offer Resolutions to Congress on the Heads you enumerate. We wish that the Remedy may be effectual, and think it happy that we can be favoured with your Assistance: We therefore request that you will be pleased to point out what ought to be done with respect to the Arrangement of the Army, the Department of Artillery and Ordnance, the Clothing Departmt, the Inspectorship and the Branch of Engineers. Indeed, we think it woud be adviseable to vest the Commander in Chief with power to make these and every other Arrangement for the good Government of the Army by forming a compleat System to be adopted by Congress as their Act. We submit this last Suggestion to your Excellency's Consideration being unwilling to throw any Burdthens upon you which may be disagreeable." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*. The *Journals of the Continental Congress* for January, February, and March, 1779, record the measures passed as a result of this conference with Washington.

[82] The words "ought to have precluded every idea of partiality on my part" were crossed out.

gave me reason to expect he would have discountenanced any dissatisfaction which might have been excited on account of it. All the troops of the States have ever experienced an equal share of my attention and if those of Connecticut have not fared so well as others, in the late distribution of cloathing to the army, at the same time, that I should be truly sorry for it. I am conscious, that it has not proceeded from my having made any injurious discrimination to their prejudice.[83] With respect to their having been referred to Major Bigelow for their uniforms, and not having received their proportion of the imported cloathing; this was done in consequence of a particular application from several of their officers, who informed me, it was the earnest desire of those troops, to be cloathed out of the supplies provided by Major Bigelow, and that this mode would be infinitely preferred to their being placed upon a common footing with the other troops, and furnished out of the imported stock. Indeed this manner of supplying them was insisted on as a matter of right, on the merit of some particular pains which had been taken by the State of Connecticut and the officers of that State to assist in procuring and preparing the materials in Major Bigelows hands. In compliance with repeated importunities supported by this plea, in which General Parsons was principly zealous, and as I foresaw no inconvenience that would accrue to the other troops, I consented that the Connecticut regiments should depend on Major Bigelow for their supply instead of taking their chance with the rest of the army in the imported cloathing. The decided preference given to this mode was certainly founded on

[83] On January 8 Washington wrote to Brig. Gen. Jedidiah Huntington that the purchase of clothing out of the regular mode occasioned a deal of confusion and that if the Board of War "do not see a probability of supplying you in any other manner, they will direct Major Bigelow to procure Hats for the two Connecticut Brigades, which will put things into the proper train and take off any imputation of partiality." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

the prospect of some peculiar advantages that would attend it, and the event proving different from what was expected, could not be a sufficient reason for departing from it. It is an unfortunate circumstance, if Major Bigelows cloathing did not happen to be of so good a quality as the French cloathing; but it might have been better, and if it had been, the troops in question would certainly have reaped the benefit and would not have relinquished their claim in favour of others.

The complaint, among other things extends to Blankets. Orders have been already given and at a very early period for a supply of that article. If I mistake not, I remember two successively given to General Parsons [and for those of the largest and best quality, the latter parcels being of so small a kind, that it took two of one sort, and four of another to make one of full size, and besides this a deficiency of two or three thousand was found upon the whole quantity short of the Invoices.] I cannot, where I now am, ascertain the number, but I have always entertained an idea there was a full allowance made in proportion to the wants of the army and the quantity in the public possession. The fact is, that the whole supply was very inadequate to the deficiency and that the troops in general have only received about one half of the defective number. If the Connecticut troops are in a worse predicament, and you will forward me an exact return of what they have and what they want, they shall be put in the same situation with the other parts of the army. General Parsons mentions a return in his letter; but he does not enclose it.

As to the smaller articles of shirts, Stockings and shoes, I do not recollect what has been done. But if the Connecticut troops have not received their proportion, they may do it by applying with proper returns to the Clothier at Fish Kill, to whom I have written the enclosed for that purpose. The troops in General

have had orders for a shirt and a pair of stockings per man for the whole, and a pair of shoes, for each that wanted it. The application in the present case is to be made by the same rule; but it is to be understood, that this supply is only to be drawn, if it has not already been done.

The Idea of appropriating the cloathing in the hands of Major Bigelow, to the use of the Connecticut troops exclusively appears to me to be carried much too far: Major Bigelow was [either] employed by the continent to purchase [or had the purchases taken of his hands by Congress] of course [they] ought to be thrown in a common stock for the benefit of the army at large, and not confined to the troops of a particular state. On this principle, the materials in his possession have been ordered into the Continental store at Fish Kill, [as a central place and for the common benefit.] It could not however have been my intention to deprive the Connecticut troops of their proper share. They will stand precisely upon the same ground as all others.

The measures you mention to have taken in the affair of the seizure and with respect to the abuses practised in the sound, appear to be very proper and necessary.

General Parsons in his letter goes largely into a description of the supplies drawn from the country by the enemy; and intimates the restraint you are under from my instructions, in executing the measures necessary to prevent this commerce.

I cannot but think my instructions and in addition to them my letter of the 26th. of December allow ample latitude for the most effectual measures and that by concerting a plan with General McDougall for the conduct of your respective parties, you have it in your power essentially to put a stop to the intercourse complained of.

I think it may be useful to have some horsemen stationed as you mention and for this purpose I have directed Colonel Sheldon to furnish the number you request[84] to be relieved periodically, I wish the fatigueing these parties by employing them as expresses or on common unimportant errands may be avoided as much as possible. I am etc.[85]

To LORD STIRLING

Philadelphia, January 8, 1779.

My Lord: When a distribution of Cloathing was made in the Fall, it was found that there would be a considerable deficiency of Blankets in particular; I was therefore under the necessity of only delivering a certain proportion to each Corps at that time, intending after all the troops had been served in the first instance, to collect an exact Return of all the remaining Blankets and to distribute them equally. Some of the Corps to the Eastward (although they had a full proportion before) have conceived that they were not put upon an equal footing with their neighbours, and seem apprehensive that the remaining stock will be delivered to the troops at Middle Brook. To remove all grounds of uneasiness, I intend immediately upon my return to Camp, to obtain an exact account of what Blankets are upon hand and deliver them out to the whole Army in proper proportion to their wants. I would therefore wish you to give the Deputy Cloathier orders to prepare a Return not only of the Blankets, but of the other Articles in his Store, but not to issue any of them except upon my

[84] "Be pleased to furnish General Putnam with a non Commissioned Officer and Six Dragoons to be relieved as often as you shall think proper."—*Washington to Col. Elisha Sheldon,* Jan. 8, 1779. This letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[85] The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton. The words in brackets are in the writing of Washington.

order; because as I am possessed of the account of what was delivered to the different Corps in the first instance, I can check any attempts to obtain more than their just proportion in the second.[86]

I have received such repeated information of the trade that is carried on between Monmouth and New York by carrying in provisions and bringing back Goods to a very great amount, that I find there is an absolute necessity of sending down a party to that Quarter, to put a stop to the intercourse. Be pleased therefore to order about 250 Men from the line, properly officered under the command of a Field Officer, to go immediately upon that service. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the Country to point out the proper station for these troops, and I must therefore leave it to your Lordship to gain the proper information, if it does not already come within your knowledge. The Officer should be fully informed of the object of his command and strictly enjoined not to suffer any property to be seized, but upon the strongest probability of its being intended for the use of the Enemy.

There will be no necessity of Major Howell's remaining in Monmouth, after this party gets down; be pleased therefore to direct him to join his Brigade, with the Men that are with him as soon as they arrive, and desire the Officer who relieves him, to follow the same mode of communicating any movements of the enemy's shipping or any other intelligence he may obtain. Major Howell should be directed to make the Officer acquainted with the proper persons to be employed and

[86] "It has been represented to me that the troops of Connecticut are in great want of Shirts Stockings and Shoes. This leads me to inquire of you whether they have not received their proportion of these Articles in common with the rest of the Army. The troops in general have obtained orders for a Shirt and pair of Stockings per man and a pair of Shoes to each that wanted. If the Connecticut Troops have not been furnished . . . you will on receiving proper Returns for that purpose supply them in conformity to this Rule."—*Washington to Deputy Clothier Gen. George Measam*, Jan. 8, 1779. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

any other steps necessary to be taken to answer the purpose of procuring intelligence.

Since begining my letter I am favd. with yours of the 3rd. & 4th. instants. Should the news of Count D'Estaings falling in with the Cork fleet prove true it will be most interesting to him and distressing to the enemy. I am etc.[87]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Philadelphia, January 9, 1779.

Sir: I have the honor. of yours of the 7th. instant. As there is not probably a sufficiency of Mittens for the whole Army, a partial distribution would occasion uneasiness among those who were not supplied. Instead therefore of a general delivery, I should think it better to have them lodged with the Cloathiers attending the Army to be delivered out occasionally to detachments going upon a duty that will expose them to the inclemency of the Weather.

Some little time before I left Fredericksburg I had a very minute inquiry made into the number of Soldiers employed as Officers servants, and I had the satisfaction of finding by the Report of Colo. Ward, Commy. General of Musters, that the number was not more than common usage and the necessity of the Case required. In some particular instances where he found more soldiers returned as Waiters than was justifiable or reasonable, he mentioned the matter to the Officers employing them, and he informed me that at a subsequent Muster he found the injury redressed.

I cannot think that the measure, of allowing the Officer a sum equal to the pay and Rations of a Soldier, to hire a Waiter

[87] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

would answer, for this obvious reason, that, at this time, no person can be procured to do the most common drudgery for the pay and Rations of a Soldier, so far from it, that the pay of a labourer now exceeds that of many Officers. The Board must be fully acquainted with the discontents which already prevail in the Army on acct. of the disproportion between their pay and every necessary Article of life, and to enter into a regulation, which would oblige the Officers to pay as much for a servant as he himself receives, and which would deprive him of a priviledge which I believe is allowed in all services, would I am confident be attended with the most disagreeable consequences. That Officers should be limited to a number of servants, in proportion to their Rank I think highly proper, and had I not found from Colo. Wards representation, as before mentioned, that the number so employed was not more than sufficient, I should have made some regulations on that head.

The Board will find by making a strict scrutiny into the Column of Men upon command,[88] that the Bulk are employed as Waggoners, Watermen, Artisans and in short in every kind of Work necessary in and about an Army, for in fact the price of labour is so extravagant that the Quarter Master is obliged to draw Men from the line, for most of his purposes or his department must be at a stand.

I have regulated the number of Horses that the Officers of the Cavalry shall be allowed to keep, and have been very particular in the instructions given to the commanding Officers of those Corps gone in to Quarters, to see that the regulation is observed. I will upon my return to Camp transmit the Board a Copy of the Regulation. I am, etc.[89]

[88] In the monthly return of the entire Army for December, 1778(?)

[89] The draft, in the writing of Tench Tilghman, is addressed to Richard Peters as secretary of the Board of War.

To CHAIRMAN JAMES DUANE

Philadelphia, January 11, 1779.

Sir: I have perused the letter which you did me the honor to write, containing several subjects of consideration refered by Congress to the Committee of conference, and on which you desire my opinion.[90]

As I am not yet furnished with sufficient data relative to the first head; it will be necessary to defer touching it, until I can by means of the board of war inform myself more fully of the object of the expedition, the orders or instructions given to General McIntosh, and some other fundamental points.[91]

I pass therefore to that which regards the Commissary of Prisoners. This Letter to Congress evidently proves the necessity of prescribing a proper line of conduct to him, which in my opinion will be sufficiently pointed out in the following instructions, vizt. To reside at the Head Quarters of the Army. To make no Exchanges but such as are directed by the Congress, the board of War or the Commander in chief (the directions of the two former to pass through the hands of the latter) and whenever he has occasion to send a Flag into the Enemys Lines with Provision for prisoners, or on any other business, to make application to the Commander in chief, who will judge of the cause, and the propriety in point of time. The exclusive privilege which Mr. Beatty seems to require of regulating the intercourse by Flag, both with regard to the object and the time of sending them, astonishes me; it would give him powers which no Commissary of Prisoners has ever yet been vested with; they might be dangerous, and certainly are unnecessary, as the Commissary can have no business in

[90] Of Jan. 10, 1779, which is in the *Washington Papers*.

[91] An expedition against the Indians from Fort Pitt, proposed by Brigadier General McIntosh.

the course of his Office with which the Commander in chief ought to be unacquainted.

In order to preserve harmony and correspondence in the System of the Army, there must be a controuling power to which the several Departments are to refer; if any department is suffered to act independently of the Officer commanding, collision of orders and confusion of affairs will be the inevitable consequence; this induces me to repeat that all orders from Congress or the board of War to any department or Officer should be communicated thro the Commander in chief, or in the case of a separate Command thro the Commandant.

It was absolutely necessary that the open and free intercourse with New York which I found prevailing on my arrival at Elizabeth Town, the 1st. December, should be restrained, and I gave positive orders to General Maxwell to suffer no persons to pass unless they had previously obtained permission from the Governors of the respective States or myself, and I requested Governors Livingston and Reed to fix on the 1st. day of every month for this purpose, to which they readily acceded.

12th. Since writing as above I have endeavoured to gain every information relative to the Western Expedition, but have not been able to arrive at such a knowledge of the State of Affairs in that quarter, and the present views of the Commanding Officers as are essential to founding an explicit opinion.

The object of the expedition was to give peace and security to our frontiers by expelling the Indians and destroying their principal point of Support. In prosecuting a Plan for this purpose, much expense has already been incurred, and the end is not yet obtained; neither is it in my power to determine from any thing that has been communicated to me, in what train the operations are. But it appears to me that previous to renouncing the expedition, the Commanding Officer should be

consulted; and that a sudden Abandonment of the Undertaking would occasion not only the sinking of the whole expence without reeping any benefit, but likewise on the other hand, give confidence to our enemies, and expose us to more frequent and destructive inroads.

By General McIntosh's Letters to the Board of War &c, it appears evidently that he has been disappointed in his expectation of men, provision and Stores. His orders seem to have been precise, his anxiety great, and tho he may not have advanced agreeably to his own expectation and the views of Congress, yet as a certain progress has been made, as the causes which gave rise to the expedition still exist, and Security to our Frontiers is not to be obtained by a defensive Plan; my Sentiments with respect to his future conduct from the light in which I view the matter, are these:

That General McIntosh should (if he has not already done so) decide finally whether with his present force, provisions, stores, prospect of supplies and means of transportation, he can advance to Detroit, and whether the advantages or disadvantages of a Winter Expedition preponderate. If these should be determined in the affirmative, his plan should be prosecuted with vigour, if in the negative, the Militia should be discharged, every useless mouth dismissed, and the Winter spent in forming Magazines, building batteaux, or such canoes as can be transported into Lake Erie, by the way of Scioto or le bœuf, and will serve to coast it in, when there; a time and place should be appointed for rendezvous in the spring, of such further force, as shall be judged necessary for the operations of the Campaign; effectual measures to be taken in the mean time to secure such force. I do not concieve that more pointed directions than these, can be given at this time, unless General McIntosh's Situation and Views were better understood. My Ideas of contending with the Indians have been

uniformly the same, and I am clear in opinion, that the most œconomical (tho' this may also be attended with great expence) as well as the most effectual mode of opposing them, where they can make incursions upon us, is to carry the war into their own Country. For supported on the one hand by the british, and enriching themselves with the spoils of our people, they have every thing to gain and nothing to lose, while we act on the defensive, whereas the direct reverse would be the consequence of an offensive war on our part.

The Western Expedition upon the present Plan, stands unconnected with any other, consequently General McIntosh looked only to one object, and doubtless pursued the Route which in his judgment led most easily to it; but considering that his operations and those to the Northward might have a correspondence, if his are delayed 'till the Spring, they might be varied so as to answer his object as well if not better, and they would at the same time favor the other expedition.

The Establishing Posts of Communication which the General has done for the Security of his convoys, and Army in case of accident, is a proceeding grounded on military practice and Experience; these works do not appear to have occasioned any additional expence. I have the honor, etc.[92]

[92] In the writing of John Laurens. It is indorsed by Duane: "General Washington's first Remarks for the Committee of Congress 11 Jany 1779 on Commissr. Prisoners. An Account of the Plan of operations at Fort Pitt. His opinion on the Media of carrying on the Indian War; that offensive Measures are necessary."

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